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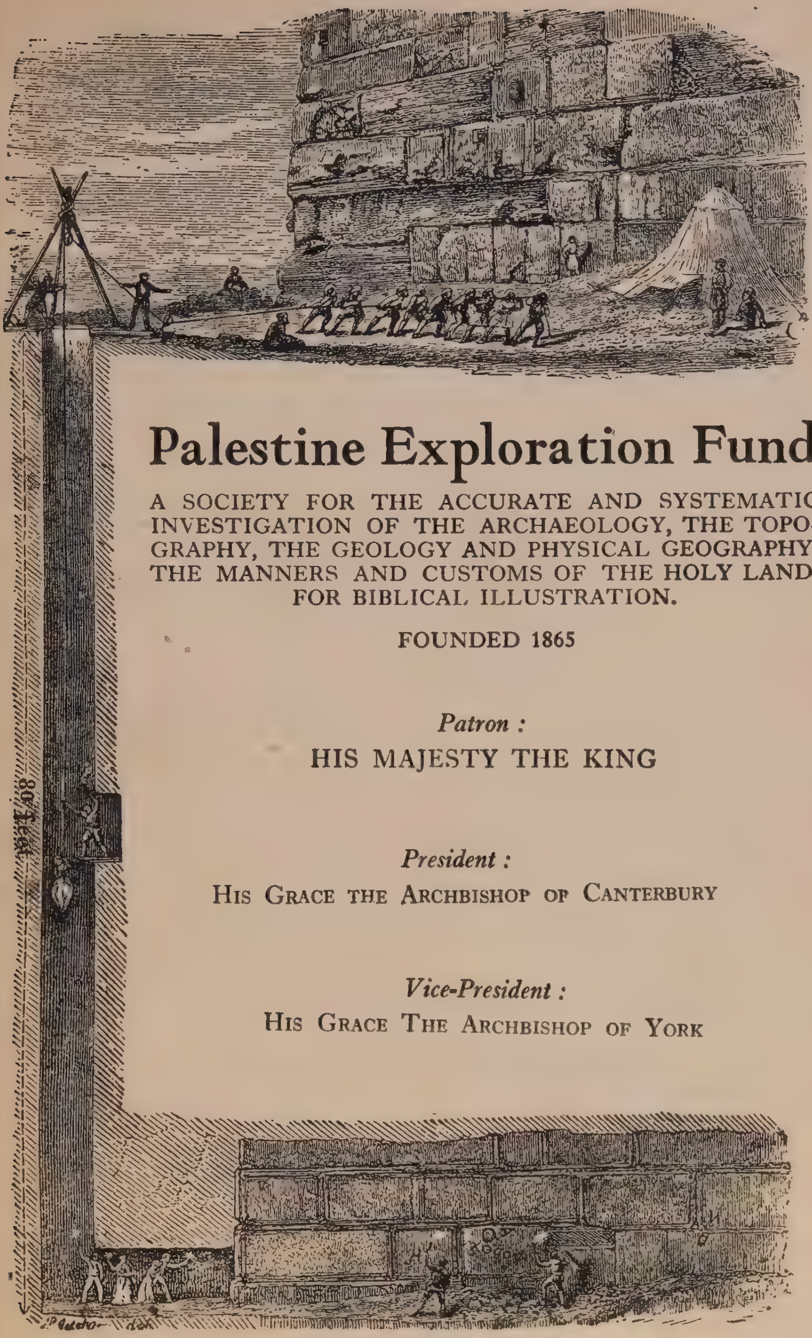

Palestine Exploration Fund

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THE
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

NOTES AND NEWS

The Annual General Meeting of the Palestine Exploration Fund will be held at 2 Hinde Street, W.1, on Friday, June, 28th, at 5 p.m. This will be the first open meeting since 1939 and will include a lantern lecture, the subject of which will be announced in due course. Subscribers and friends of the Fund are cordially invited to attend.

It is a cause for joy to be able to record the re-appearance of a French publication among our exchanges. The three volumes of *Vivre et Penser* represent the continuance in a new form of the much-valued *Revue Biblique*. It will undoubtedly be of interest to our readers to see the spirit which animated Biblical scholars on the continent during the terrible years of the war. Here are the words in which the editor, R.P. L. -H. Vincent introduced *Vivre et Penser* on 11th May, 1941 :

" At a time when the imagination quails before the stupendous events which are now happening, nothing could be more disastrous than to allow ourselves to be benumbed with horror, or frozen into inaction through the failure of our former modes of activity. Such an attitude would represent an attempt to escape from life, which is in its essence a deliberate effort of the will.

" In the desire to avoid such a fatal apathy, the group which, for the last half-century has devoted its energies to Biblical and Oriental research, has now decided to pursue its service along the lines of such research in the field of Biblical exegesis and history as may be calculated to promote the development of human activities and the progress of civilization. Any human activity presupposes the concrete idea of an aim worthy of intelligent aspirations. When we speak of progress we are not indulging in dreams of the decisive discovery of illusory remedies or of the pursuit of the will o' the wisp of the philosopher's stone : by progress we mean rather the utilization of an exact knowledge of the past as a means to the improvement of the future ; in other words, the illumination of life by thought, in order to preserve in its entirety the scientific, intellectual, moral, and religious character of human life.

"Such is the task to which the modest publication now presented to the public seeks to contribute. Its title may seem somewhat abstract, but its meaning will easily be understood.

"It is hoped that the subscribers to the *Revue Biblique* will accept this publication as the completion of the contents of the issue for 1940, broken off in the middle. If this publication should meet with a sympathetic reception and a sufficiently large circle of readers, it may be followed by a similar collection of studies."

When we consider the conditions under which the studies contained in the three volumes of *Vivre et Penser* must have been produced, we can only wonder at the variety and extremely high standard of scholarship which they exhibit. In the special field to which this Journal is devoted, we find the following contributions :

"Notes on the History and Topography of Transjordan," by R.P. R. de Vaux.

"Studies on the Hurrians," by R.P. R. de Vaux.

"Safaitic Inscriptions from Transjordan," by G. Ryckmans.

"The Lands of the Bible and Egypt at the end of the 12th Egyptian dynasty," by R.P. L. -H. Vincent.

There are also valuable reviews and shorter notices on various points of interest relating to Palestine and the Near East.

At a meeting of the Society for Old Testament Study, held in January of this year at Oxford, Professor H. H. Rowley gave a most interesting and valuable statement concerning Old Testament scholars on the continent and their publications during the war. Professor Rowley has been able to maintain contact with European scholars throughout the war, and the communication referred to above has been printed for private circulation. It may be obtained from the Rev. Professor G. Henton Davies, 3, the Dell, Westbury-on-Trym, Bristol ; price 6*d*. each.

Valuable light on the obscure Kassite period of Mesopotamian history has been thrown by the Iraq Government excavations at 'Aqar Quf, under the direction of Mr. Taha Baqir, the Curator of the Iraq Museum, and the guidance of Mr. Seton Lloyd. The second interim report for 1943–44 has been published as a supplement to *Iraq*, 1945. The results are of special importance as helping to establish synchronisms with the Alalakh chronology discussed by Professor Sidney Smith in his monograph, *Alalakh and Chronology*. Some light is also thrown on the problem of the number and order of succession of the Kassite kings bearing the name Kurigalzu.

The series of reports on the excavations at Dura-Europos is nearing its completion. *The Antiquaries Journal* for July–October, 1945, contains a review by Mr. J. W. Crowfoot of Part i, Fascicle I of the Final report IV, dealing with the green glazed pottery, for which Mr. Nicholas Toll is responsible. Mr. Crowfoot remarks that, " In Mesopotamia, as in Egypt, the glazing of beads and other articles in frit or powdered quartz goes back at least to the fourth millennium, but the glazing of clay vessels begins, according to recent authorities, about 1000 B.C., and green glazed pottery ' characterized by (1) highly siliceous clay for the body, and (2) alkaline glaze coloured with cupric oxide ' becomes extremely popular in Seleucid and Parthian times (p. 72). It was made on a great many different sites of which Dura was certainly one. In Dura it occurs first in deposits of the first century B.C., but in Seleucia on the Tigris similar ware has been found by Debevoise in a level which he dates before 141 B.C. During the last three centuries or so of the city's life, glazing was the most popular way of ornamenting pottery."

In the *Jewish Quarterly Review* for October, 1945, Dr. Solomon Zeitlin, who has already made important contributions to the problems relating to the judicial aspects of the Crucifixion, develops his view that in the time of Christ there were two Sanhedrins, one a state court and the other a religious Sanhedrin. His article throws valuable light on the later development of the Jewish judicial system.

In the same issue Dr. Zeitlin renews his controversy with Professor Rowley on the dating of Jubilees. Most English scholars will probably continue to prefer the later date for Jubilees.

The greater part of the latest issue of the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, for October, 1945, is occupied with an article by Professor W. F. Albright on " An Indirect Synchronism between Egypt and Mesopotamia, circ. 1750 B.C." The article turns on the identification, undoubtedly correct, of the name of a king of Byblos, Yantin-'ammu, found in an inventory from Mari, with the name of a Byblian prince Antin or Entin, already known from Egyptian scarabs. The ensuing discussion is directed to the establishing of a synchronism between Yantin-'ammu of Byblos, Zimri-Lim of Mari, and Nefer-hatpe of Egypt, a synchronism which Professor Albright regards as an additional support for the adjusted chronology of the Khorsabad List.

The *Biblical Archaeologist* for September, 1945, continues its useful series of articles on the archaeology of St. Paul's journeys. In this issue there is an article by Dr. M. M. Parvis on the archaeology of Ephesus containing most useful material, well-illustrated, and another by Professor Filson entitled " Ephesus and the New Testament." We may take the occasion to repeat that this unassuming publication should be known to all teachers of Scripture, and will be found to be of the greatest help.

SUMMER CLOSING. The office and rooms of the Fund will be closed on Monday, 5th August, re-opening Thursday, 5th September.

THE THRESHING FLOOR AT THE CITY GATE

By Sidney Smith

When four hundred of the court prophets, chanting in unison, had failed to satisfy Jehoshaphat that he had heard a message from his Lord, Ahab sent for his enemy, Micaiah the son of Imlah, and arrangements were made for a formal ceremony, at which all the prophets, including Micaiah, should prophesy. "And the king of Israel and Jehoshaphat, the king of Judah, sat each on his throne, having put on their robes, בְּגֹרֶן פֶּתַח שַׁעַר שֹׁמְרוֹן," 1 Kings, xxii, 10 (2 Chron., xviii, 9). The Authorized Version translated these Hebrew words: "in a void place in the entrance of the gate of Samaria," while the Revisers substituted "open" for "void", a distinction without a difference. The word *goren* means "threshing floor"; the English versions attest unwillingness to accept the literal sense in this context.

The Greek version shows the same unwillingness. The words גֹרֶן and פֶּתַח are omitted altogether, and "having put on their robes" is converted into "armed," as if the kings were immediately setting out on their campaign. Threshing floors seemed out of place in the Hellenistic period in the description of such a scene. The difficulty felt by the English translators arose from their rendering "in the entrance," which implies that the threshing floor was inside the gateway. Possibly the omission of the two Hebrew words in the Greek is due to the same difficulty, for ἐν ταῖς πύλαις more probably meant, to the translator, "within" than "at" the gate. It is, however, just possible that ἐν is here used vaguely, as in ἐν ποταμῷ, and that the *goren* was omitted as unsuitable for the parade of an army indicated by "armed."

The apparent difficulty has influenced commentators more than it should. Brown-Driver-Briggs described the passage as "peculiar, and text dubious," though they did not favour emendations previously proposed. Commentators who accept the text as it stands still think it means that the threshing floor was within the walls. The Hebrew construction does not necessitate this interpretation, for " the opening of the city-gate " may be an apposition, " in the threshing floor, [that is] the opening of the city-gate."

In a poem from Ras Shamra published by M. Charles Virolleaud, which relates the legend of *’Aqht*, there is a description of the father taking his seat to hear petitions, II D, col. v, lines 4-8 :

’apnk . dn’il . mt . rp’i
   ’aphn . ğzr . mt . hrnmy
ytśu[1] *. yšb . b’ap . šğr*
   tḫt . ’adrm . dbgrn
ydn . dn . ’almnt
   yšpṭ . špṭ . . . .

which may be translated :

Thereupon Daniel, the man of the Rephaim,
   now the giant (?), the man of *Hrnm*,[2]
rose and took his seat in front of[3] the gate,
   beneath an *’adr* (or, the *’adrm*) that is (are)
      in the threshing floor.

He judged the case of the widow,
   he gave the decision. . . .

The word used for " gate " is, philologically, the same as that in the passage from 1 Kings, with *ghayin* for *‘ayin*. It implies a much more elaborate construction than the ordinary *bab* of a house. Daniel's farm seems to have been fortified.

The notion of the gate as the place of assembly, where justice was administered, is familiar from many passages in the Old Testament.[4] The particular interest of this passage lies rather in the fairly exact parallel[1] to the wording of I Kings, xxii, 10. There too the relation of the threshing floor to the gateway is described in words that show that the Hebrew construction means what *b'ap* means in the text from Ras Shamra. It is no longer reasonable to suppose that the threshing floor was within the gate, or even to take " the opening of the gate " as a pleonasm for " the gateway," as might be argued from other Biblical passages. " The opening " must be a particular space on the exterior side of the city gate, and presumably, since there was a threshing floor there, it was the widest part. The Ras Shamra text makes it certain that the exterior façade was meant.

---

[1] Apparently a reflexive form, " carried himself."

[2] A gentilic, from a place name, for which see W. F. Edgerton and J. A. Wilson, *Historical Records of Ramses III*, p. 109, *sub*. 70.

[3] Literally, " in the face of,". comparable to לְאַפֵּי?

[4] Collected in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, *II*, p. 111.

If a broad generalization, subject to several reserves, may be permitted, it may be said that there were two common types of fortified gateway. In the first, a traveller leaving the city passed through two sets of double doors, separated by a passage with guard-rooms on either side, into a rectangular area, open opposite the doors, but flanked on either side by bastions or towers intended for defence ; an example of this type was uncovered by the late J. L. Starkey at Tell Duweir. In this type, the front of the gate or the opening of the gate must lie between the bastions or towers. In the second type the gateway constitutes a set-back in the line of the wall, and the ramp leading down from the gate runs along a section of the fortification ; the " eastern gate " found by L. F. Badé at Tell en Naṣbeh is an example. In this type, a throng gathering round the bottom of the ramp would be confined to not much more than half a semi-circle. It is easier to imagine that the gateway where public business was conducted, including the gateway of Samaria, was of the first type.

Daniel sat in front of the gate beneath an *'adr*, or several *'adrm*, which was, or were, in the threshing floor. This word *'adr* has itself been translated " threshing-floor," a translation supported from the Syriac lexicon, *'edro*, and from the Arabic, *'andar*, and as a consequence of this the well-attested *grn*, " threshing floor " becomes " barn," a guess. Even so, the translation " [he] sits in the entrance of the gate, under the threshing floors that are in the barn "[1] cannot be correct, for no man can sit under more than one threshing floor at a time, it is physically impossible for a city-gate to be under a threshing floor, and courts for hearing pleas were not under barns. The true position is that, while there is no reasonable doubt about the meaning of *grn*, Hebrew *goren*, the common assumption that the Aramaic *'idderā*, pl. *'īdderē*, is simply equivalent in meaning to *goren* is now rendered impossible by the text from Ras Shamra, at any rate for the early period. The uses of the word, even in the later periods, do not all fit the assumption, as is clear from Dalman's statement:[2] "*idderē* . . . at times means rather the corn on the threshing floor than the floor itself," and further: " all-Bistani mentions *'andar*, pl. *'anādir*, as the Syrian term for threshing floor, but as customary in other cases for the heaps of grain, *quḏs el qamḥ*." Threshing floors were, in fact, used, and still are, for two different, though closely related, operations, threshing and winnowing, and the Aramaic word, a plural, applies to the results of the second operation, when grain was piled in heaps.

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[1] H. L. Ginsberg in *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 97 (February, 1945) noted the parallel, and argued from it that *Dn'il* must be a ruler.

Before what has been threshed is winnowed in Syria, a fence is put up a little distance away to catch what is blown by wind when tossed with the fork.[3] Any large threshing floor would be divided up among several parties, and there would therefore be sections marked out by such fences. In the Targum, the threshing floor is called *beṯ 'idderē*, that is an area in which there are several *'idder*; the word in the plural must refer either to these sections, or, more probably, to the fences themselves. The common Palestinian *bēdar*, pl. *bayadir*, arose from the compound in the Targum. An area on which these fences were erected for winnowing must be open to the breeze; it can hardly have been situated between the flanking towers of a gateway, but the operation might be conducted on the open side of this space.

That winnowing did in fact take place at the *goren* in early times is certain, Ruth iii, 2; and the figure employed in Jeremiah xv, 7 shows that the sight of men winnowing at the gates of cities must have been common. But the most instructive passage is Daniel ii, 35 : " Then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver and the gold broken in pieces together, and became like chaff from the *'idderē* of summer." The point of this passage is partly lost if the plural is translated " threshing floors." The figure emphasizes the reduction of the metals to extremely fine grains and dust ; this is compared, not to the results of threshing but to the chaff deposited in heaps at the fences, after winnowing. The insistence on the season is not pointless ; if *'idderē* originally meant " wicker fences," they were doubtless used for other purposes at other seasons in various places, but the *'idderē* of summer were synonymous with winnowing on the threshing floor.

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[1] C. H. Gordon, *Loves and Wars of Baal and Anat*, p. 35.

[2] G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, III, pp. 67-68.

[3] *ibid.*, p. 128.

The same word, in the form *adru*, pl. *adratu*, occurs in Assyrian documents of the late twelfth and early eleventh centuries ; it was then customary for debtors to repay loans, presumably loans to facilitate harvesting, *ina adrate*. This has been translated " on the threshing floor,"[1] and there is no doubt that this is essentially correct. But the plural form used in many cases, though not in all, shows that the primary meaning of *adru* can hardly be " threshing floor," for no one would make repayment in comparatively small amounts of grain at more than one floor. Moreover, the expression is used to indicate a specific time,[2] and that time must be when the heaps of grain are on the floor, after winnowing. In Assyrian too, then, *adru* must mean something connected with winnowing and is therefore likely to have the same original sense as *'idderā* in Aramaic.

It is not certain whether *'adrm* in the Ras Shamra text is singular or plural. If it is singular,[3] then the preposition

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[1] P. Koschaker, *Neue keilschriftliche Rechtsurkunden aus der el-Amarna Zeit*, p. 45, note 1.

[2] *ibid.*, p. 96.

[3] A. D. Singer in an article inaccessible to me has argued that final *-m*, when it is not dual or plural is always either an adverbial or vocative ending, see *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 97, p. 6, note 13 ; the possibility here considered would in that case be merely an error, but the doctrine is difficult to accept at first sight, and may depend on an erroneous view of the original nature of the adverbs in *-ām*.

tḫt is most naturally taken to mean that Daniel sat underneath an *'adr*, which must then be something that could serve as a canopy. The nearest parallel to this would be a construction in a palace mentioned in a letter to a crown prince of Assyria, perhaps Esarhaddon, in an account of arrangements for a festival of Nābu at Calah.[1] The writer, the *ḥazanu* (ordinarily a municipal officer) of the temple of Nabu, is particularly concerned with the return from " the house of the bed," the place where the ritual marriage of the god took place. At the end of the letter good wishes for Shebaṭ show that the festival meant fell in that month. The ceremony was, then, a part of an autumn New Year festival.[2] The god is to come out from within the *adru* of the palace, *ilu ina libbi adri ekalli uṣṣa* ;[3] in Assyria the *cella* of a god was sometimes in the palace. Then [the person] who is inside the same *adru*, *ša libbi adri ekalli*,[4] is to go to the garden. This clause presumably refers to the type of priestess who dwelt in a grove,[5] one such might serve as a partner for the ritual marriage. The description proves that the *adru* was either the " house of the bed " itself, or a part of it in which the marriage was consummated, since from it the god issued to be taken in a chariot through the city in a triumphal procession.

This Assyrian letter suggests, then, that the term *adru* meant a canopy or booth of greenery, of the type put up during New Year festivals in Sumerian cities at quite an early date. This word is not necessarily distinct from that which in the plural, *adratu*, denotes a threshing floor during winnowing. It is possible that *adru* is really the passive participle from the root *ederu*, " to entwine," used, in the I 2 form,[1] which often denotes mutual interaction,[2] in the sense " to embrace." The use of this passive form may have extended to all things made of wicker work, booths or sections of fences.

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[1] L. Waterman, *Royal Correspondence*, No. 65. The reference to an *adru* in No. 1,285 is obscure in its relevance to the context. Presumably it is to be translated, " Again I made three heaps beside the winnowing screen " and is a reference to the kind of division discussed by Thureau-Dangin in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, XXXI, pp. 49-50 ; it is one of a series of complaints.

[2] For the two features see Gadd in S. H. Hooke, *Myth and Ritual*, pp. 46, 56.

[3] Correctly translated by B. Behrens, *Assyrisch-babylonische Briefe*, p. 47, note 1 : " Der Gott wird aus dem Palastgemach (?) auszichen."

[4] Misunderstood by Behrens, owing to his impossible view that *ša libbi* is equivalent to *ištu libbi.*

[5] *Babylonian Historical Texts*, pp. 56-57 ; *J.R.A.S.*, 1928, pp. 881-882.

If, on the other hand, *'adrm* is a plural[3] in the Ras Shamra text, a possibility that is perhaps a probability in view of the common occurrence of this word in the plural, it is most improbable that Daniel sat underneath several sections of wicker fence, and *t̠ḥt* must not then be taken in a literal, but in a loose, sense, " below." The words would then imply that Daniel came out to the threshing floor while the fences put up for winnowing were still there, and the heaps of grain and chaff were still on the floor. The author must, in this case, have deliberately included the line to indicate the nature of Daniel's judgment, which concerned widows, and, as we must probably infer, the orphan and the destitute. The case such people would present would be the plea for sustenance. This theme, the alleviation of the needs of the poor after winnowing, provides the setting of the book of Ruth. The same idea accounts for the inclusion of " the Levite, the stranger, the fatherless and the widow that are within thy gates " in the celebrations at harvest time prescribed in Deut. xvi, 14.

Whether the word *'adrm* is singular or plural, it must have a meaning that may derive from an original meaning,

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[1] *The Epic of Creation*, Tablet I, line 53.

[2] The I 2 form in Akkadian is not a tense, either present, imperfect, or, as has recently been stated, pluperfect. Sometimes it implies repetition of an action, as *iqṭabi*, " he answered," sometimes it applies to an action which results from some other action, as *ittidin*, " he delivered up again (after taking or receiving," sometimes to mutual interaction, as *dituku*, " they were killers each of the other," and often to action with a reflex effect, *ištam*, " he bought and made his own, acquired for himself by purchase." The interpretation must start from the I 3 form, which regularly denotes action repeated several times, or intensified. The relation of I 1, I 2 and I 3 is much that of the singular, dual and plural of the noun.

[3] So far as the form is concerned it might be dual, but there does not seem any particular reason for the assumption that it is.

" wicker-work." In Aramaic the plural *idderē* originally meant the thorn fences set up on the threshing floor for winnowing, called in modern Syrian Arabic *siyāj*, *siyājāt*; ultimately this plural came to mean the heaps of grain, and then the threshing floor itself. This gave rise to the use of the singular in Syriac for the threshing floor. On the other hand the compound expression used in the Targum for the threshing floor, *bet 'idderē*, has produced the reduced form *bēdar*.

There is, then, fairly substantial evidence that there was a threshing floor at some city gates, that it was situated outside the walls and was close to the towers that often protected main gates. Is there any good reason for such an apparently inconvenient position ? The reason may be that many citizens in early times had small cultivated plots in the immediate environs, but no suitable space for threshing and winnowing, and no adequate means of protecting their grain from theft after winnowing. Winnowing was generally done at night, in order to take advantage of the breeze, and the grain could not be removed immediately, Ruth iii, 2 ; Boaz slept by his corn when the work was done, so apparently he did not trust his own servants in this matter. Such conditions would naturally lead to the use of some patch of hard ground for communal threshing, preferably in a position where the guardians of the city would protect the grain. Hence the threshing floor at the city gate.

The choice of this arena for the contest of the prophets still remains to be explained. The first prophecies of the court prophets, which Jehoshaphat did not accept, were delivered at court, and it would seem natural that Micaiah should have been brought there. Ahab must have had some purpose in making the other arrangement. The explanation is, perhaps, that Jehoshaphat had produced a situation which Ahab met by taking an unexpected line. Jehoshaphat had implied that the Lord of the prophets at court was not YHWH ; his direct reproof of Ahab's attitude to Micaiah was a challenge that could not be avoided. Ahab then decided to hold the contest between the prophets in the form of a legal trial. This notion of prophets facing one another in a legal trial was by no means unfamiliar ; it sometimes appears in later prophecies, notably in Isa. xli, 1, 21-23 ; xliii, 9. Micaiah was treated throughout as an accused person. His repetition of the formula of the court prophets was brushed aside, as a formal plea of not guilty might be. Zedekiah was allowed to take the liberties that prosecutors sometimes take in lax courts. In the end Micaiah was imprisoned, as if guilty of some serious offence ; Jehoshaphat was obviously unable to save him, the law took its course. There is something of the atmosphere of a mediaeval joust, arranged to settle the guilt or innocence of the parties concerned, in the whole event.

Professor Guillaume, in an enlightening discussion, has emphasized the nature of Micaiah's prophecy ; he used a casual appearance of sheep, wandering on the hill-side, as against the formal symbol, the horns, deliberately procured by Zedekiah, the spokesman and champion of the four hundred.[1] This point has added significance if it is accepted that the threshing floor was not, as Guillaume assumed, within the walls but immediately below the towers, without the walls. The area just within bow-shot may have been used at Samaria for a good many purposes, and in particular for sheep-pens where small flocks were herded at night, as in Babylonia.

An article of Hammurabi's laws, no. 58, deals with the case of a shepherd who, after his flock has returned from pasture up[2] to the city, has allowed the sheep to go on to cultivated land when they burst through[3] the *kannu*[4] *gamartim* at the city gate, *ina abullim*, and let them feed there. The penalty is, that the shepherd shall be responsible for the plot affected, and at harvest will have to deliver the usual average of grain per acre, a fixed amount. The preposition *ina* does not necessitate any assumption that the *kannu gamartim* was within the gateway, it can be used for "at". The law clearly implies that the shepherd who acts so is guilty of negligence in some duty at the end of his daily labour; that last duty must be penning the sheep, the negligence must consist in not properly closing the pen. The words *kannu gamartim* denote, then, a communal pen, without the walls, but in an area protected from theft by the guardians of the gate. The word *kannu* must be related to the Arabic *kinn*(*un*), " umbraculum, asylum " (Freytag).

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[1] A. Guillaume, *Prophecy and Divination*, p. 45.

[2] The word used, *itelianim*, I 2, is suitable. The city walls in Babylonia stood on an artificial mound, and any approach to the gate would be an ascent.

[3] *ittaḫlalu*, IV 2, with the same active sense as the IV 3 in Thompson, *Devils and Evil Spirits*, I, p. 132, *sibittišunu . . . ina nigiṣi irṣiti ittanaḫlalu*, " the seven devils repeatedly break through in the clefts in the ground." The verb can apparently be used both transitively and intransitively.

[4] The occurrence of *u* endings of constructs when the compound phrase is an accused is not confined to poetical usage on which see *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, XL, p. 212 note 1. The form is not plural, as seems to be thought in W. Eilers, *Gesetzesstele Chammurabis*, p. 25, note 1.

The sheep that prompted Micaiah's prophecy may quite possibly have passed the night in a pen near where he stood, on the threshing floor at the entrance to the city.

A NOTE ON THE WORD PELLAÏKON

By G. M. FitzGerald

The excavations at Beth-shan (Scythopolis) in 1930 uncovered a number of mosaic floors in a small monastery near the cemetery area. Among other inscriptions were two—both in the floor of the chapel and dated about A.D. 567—in which there appeared two previously unknown Greek words. The inscriptions begin with the same formula: " Where the wreath-cross (*stephanostauri*(*o*)*n*)[1] is, there lies the *pellaïkon* of the mouth of the tomb, having rings " and one of them continues, " he who wishes lifts up the wreath-cross and finds the ' *pellaïkon* ' and buries the dead . . .&c." The word *stephanostaurion* could be explained by a broken marble slab, lying in the chapel, on which was carved a cross encircled by a wreath; but, though a grave was found under each of the inscriptions, there was nothing to throw any light on the meaning of *pellaïkon*. In the circumstances it is not unreasonable to imagine that it must indicate a door or covering-slab with rings attached to it, but nothing of the sort has been found.

A preliminary notice (*Q.S.*, 1931, pp. 66 seq.) was followed by an article by Mr. J. Starr (*American Journal of Philology* LVIII, 1937, p. 88) and by the final publication of the inscriptions in *A Sixth-Century Monastery at Beth-shan* (1939, pp. 3, 14, Pl. XXI). Meanwhile, in 1933, a note had appeared in *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* XVII, p. 182, which, by a strange aberration, suggested that what was meant by *pellaïkon* was the covering of a tomb-shaft shaped " like a milk-pail "—treating *pella* as a dative and *ikon* as standing for *eikos*, in the sense of " like," though its ordinary meaning is " probable " or " reasonable." This view was mentioned, without being repudiated, by Mr. Starr, as it was in the *Sixth-Century Monastery*, where I unfortunately neglected to distinguish between possible and impossible meanings that might be attributed to pellaïkon.

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[1] For convenience I use the Latin alphabet for Greek words, tendering my apologies to those readers who view this practice with disgust.

My excuse for now going a little further into the question is a passage on p. 37 of *The Memorial of Moses on Mount Nebo* by Fr. S. J. Saller, who cites the Beth-shan inscriptions in connection with the discovery in his excavations of several graves, each closed by four slabs of which one was perforated—adding, not very accurately : " there it is expressly stated that the ' pellaïkon ' is perforated." He continues : " The word *pellaïkon* puzzled FitzGerald, who did not translate it ; since the word designates the door of the tomb, it may be translated into English by the word ' door.' *Pella* means ' stone ' ; *pella-ikon* signifies ' something made of stone ' hence a ' stone door.' " Then, in a footnote : " Perhaps the word was derived from *pulai* (door, entrance) in order to designate a stone which served as a door."

This raises two questions, the meaning of the word *pella* and the force of the termination-*ikon* ; as to both of these I venture to think Fr. Saller's remarks quite unjustifiably misleading. *Pella* in the sense of " stone " is apparently known from two sources only, one being the Lexicon of Hesychius, which contains the entry " *pella, lithos*," the other a commentary on Demosthenes by the grammarian Ulpian, who gives " *pelas*, stones in the Macedonian dialect " as a possible origin of the name of Philip of Macedon's capital, Pella.[1] Modern authorities recognize a connection with the root of the German word Fels, rock, and the derivation of the Macedonian place-name from this root may be considered probable (see, for instance, Boisacq, *Dict. Etym.*, 1938, and Pauly-Wissowa s.v. Pella, 3). This name has been borne by several towns, amongst them a city of the Decapolis not far from Beth-shan, and it is to be observed that the natives of this place, like those of the Macedonian Pella, were called *Pellaioi*, as we know from the evidence of coins (see Pauly-Wissowa s.v. Pella, 4—but note that the reference to W. Kubitschek's article should be *Numism. Zeitschr.* 1909, not 1910).

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[1] *Demosthenes* 19, 155 ; see ed. Basel, 1532, p. 247, ed. Paris, 1570, p. 234, par. 282, ed. Frankfurt, 1604, p. 376 B.

Another word *pellaios* is related to *pellos*, *pelidnos*, *polios* and similar adjectives, all with the meaning " dark-coloured " or "grey," which seems remote from any meaning that we can attach to *pellaïkon*. *Pella* " bowl " or " milk-pail " is ruled out if only because the termination *-ikos* is always affixed to the root or theme of the noun[1] and would in this case form a word *pellikon* (like *aulikos*, *kephalikos*, etc.), a fact which applies equally to *pella* in the sense of " stone."

The adjectival termination *-kos* became, from the fifth century B.C. onwards, one of the commonest in the Greek language. It has been treated of in a monograph by J. Budenz (1858), in an article by G. K. Gardikas in the Greek review *Athena* (XXII, 1910, p. 426), and by W. Dittenberger in a series of four articles (*Ethnika und Verwandtes*, *Hermes* XLI and XLII, 1906–7) as well as in grammatical works such as P. Chantraine's *Formation des noms* . . . (1933, pp. 385 seq.). Without going deeply into the matter we may point out that adjectives formed from words ending in *-ios* normally have the termination *-iakos* (e.g. *kuriakos*) but that words in *-aios* give rise to epithets in *-aïkos* (from an older form *-aiikos* which survived in *trochaiikos*). This formation may, of course, have another origin, like *graïkos* from *graus* or *laïkos* from *laos*, but in the present case it seems safe to assume that *pellaïkon* comes from *pellaios*.

Having regard to the suggestion that *pellaïkon* can mean " made of " stone, it is necessary to observe that adjectives in *-kos* do not, as a rule, denote the material of which a thing is made. Gardikas, who goes very fully into the various senses in which these epithets are used, does not mention any such meaning, nor does he anywhere equate *-ikos* with *-eios*, *-eos* or *-inos*, the common terminations of adjectives of material. It is consistent with this that the correct expression for a human foot should be not " *anthropikos* " but " *anthropeios pous*," and in the same way for other parts of the body.

The termination *-ikos* (with the variants *-iakos*, *-eiakos*, *-ukos*, etc.) is in fact characteristic of the class of epithets called *ktetika*, which properly denote what pertains to a person or thing and which have come to bear such meanings as " concerned with," " disposed to," " versed in," " affecting or affected by " and, in the most general sense, " connected with." Gardikas, however is somewhat too strict in entirely excluding the meaning " made of " from his survey. In the later Greek period, at any rate, the distinction sometimes becomes blurred ; as in the New Testament the meaning of *sarkikos* " fleshly " approximates to that of *sarkinos*, so we find examples from the papyri such as *xulikos* " wooden," *kalamikos* and *schoinikos* " made of rushes, wickerwork " and *kion porphuritikos* " a porphyry column " given in E. Mayser's *Grammatik* . . . (I, iii, pp. 104 seq.) or in F. Preisigke's *Wörterbuch*. But these instances are exceptional, and we could attribute this meaning to *pellaïkon* only if we knew of a material (e.g. a kind of stone or marble) called *pellaios*.

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[1] Unless *agroîkos* can be regarded as a solitary exception ; if so, it is exceptional also in not having the otherwise invariable oxytone accent.

It follows logically enough from the original sense of the *ktetikon* that in the case of a country or town it is formed from the name by which the inhabitants were called—the *ethnikon*—and not directly from the place name. *Pellaïkos* would be an appropriate adjective (and it might, of course, be used substantivally) to express a certain sort of connection with Pella; the distinctions of meaning between epithets in *-ios* and those in *-kos*, which are acutely drawn by Dittenberger (*Hermes* XLII, pp. 161, 178 seq.), need not concern us here—even supposing them to be valid for the Byzantine period.

Why an object with rings at the mouth of a tomb—door, slab or whatever it may be—should take its name either from a neighbouring town or from the more famous city in Macedonia remains a mystery, but at present I see no more probable origin for the name *pellaïkon*.

NEW REASONING
CONCERNING THE FORTIFICATIONS OF JERUSALEM IN THE FIRST CENTURY A.D.

By Capt. C. T. Norris

The late Lt.-Col. N. P. Clarke, in his article, "The Four North Walls of Jerusalem," published in the July-October, 1944 number of the *Quarterly*, demands new reasoning in support of the traditional views concerning, principally, the trace of the Second Wall of the First Century of our era. Such reasoning it is hoped the present contribution will provide; but the opinions expressed below are first stated with their reasons and arguments, leaving to the final section controversial points raised by Lt.-Col. Clarke, not covered by what it is here desired chiefly to advance.

I. *Examination of the literary sources* limits what is now generally admitted to be a cardinal error concerning the topography of Jerusalem to an origin after 165 B.C. and before A.D.70.

The First Book of the Maccabees, in Chapter Four, states that Judas and his army " went up unto Mount Sion, and they saw the sanctuary laid desolate, and the altar profaned, and the gates burned up, and shrubs growing in the courts . . . and the priests' chambers pulled down ": a passage which agrees with every other use of the name Sion in this Book to show that when it was written that name described the eastern hill. When it was first used to include Moriah as well as Ophel, and whether at this time it was used to describe both parts of the eastern hill, or for Moriah to the exclusion of Ophel which in David's time had been Zion, need not here be discussed. From the return from the Exile downwards, the Temple Mount was more important than Ophel, as the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah clearly show; and here in Maccabean times we have the name which from Jebusite times designated the most important part of the city, clearly applied to the Temple area.

Josephus, in The Wars of the Jews, Book Five, Chapter Four, clearly identifies part of the western hill, in his time called The Upper Market Place, as what David called the Citadel; that is, as what is now known to have been, in fact, "the stronghold of Zion" of the Old Testament, situated on Ophel, wherein David, after capture, lived, and which he renamed "The City of David". Such an erroneous identification can hardly have arisen, had there not been a prior transference of the name Zion to the part of the western hill concerned; later than those early Maccabean days in which that name was used to describe or include the Temple area; which appears to imply that the part of the western hill concerned was that which still bears the name Zion and to which down to the beginning of the present century the Jebusite stronghold was, in accordance with Josephus' testimony, imputed.

The cardinal error of topographical identification lay, not in the use of the name Zion for this summit, but in the imputation to it of David's City. Even more serious than the error itself, which is now in itself rectified, are its consequences, which still in one form or another persist. For it is inevitable that any student should expect natural development of the city to have been by expansion northward from the original citadel; and while it is easy for us to see that natural development, in its more prominent structures, in Solomon's buildings, of which the Temple was only the most northward, and in its lesser buildings, in the quarter, princely and sacerdotal, which was built round them, our predecessors had not this advantage. They were bound to seek other expansion from their fancied citadel, on the western hill; and there was by consequence an inevitable tendency, already fully developed in Josephus' day, which has not yet entirely disappeared, to antedate the provenance of every fortification upon the western hill which was not certainly known to be the work of some recent ruler such as Herod the Great or Herod Agrippa.

Some time must have elapsed after the publication of the

First Book of Maccabees, which was of course itself somewhat later than the events it records, before the error accepted by Josephus can have arisen, especially as we have to allow time for the transfer of the name Zion from the Temple area to the western hill, after 165 B.C., before the use of that name for the western hill began to be misinterpreted ; and answerably the error must have been firmly established to find acceptance by learned and interested individuals such as Josephus, presumably when he was a young man some time before Titus' siege of Jerusalem. We may therefore place the beginning of this error with some confidence within the period 150 B.C.—A.D. 50. The two centuries so covered are the period in which the Maccabean and Herodian rulers of Jerusalem flourished. When the construction Josephus places upon passages of the Old Testament implying or describing fortification within the period covered by that source, and attributed by him but not by the Old Testament to the western hill, is recognized to rest upon his erroneous assumption that David's citadel was upon the southern end of that hill with its inevitable corollary that expansion from the citadel extended over more and more of the western hill, it becomes the more clear that some extension or initiation of inhabitation or fortification or both to or upon the western hill, of the first importance, took place under either the Maccabean or the Herodian dynasty. Nothing less could have caused transference of the name which in each period indicated the most important part of the city and the seat of government, as these, with development, shifted from Ophel to Moriah and from Moriah to the present Zion. Here Josephus is of assistance, the greater in that his error blinded him to the significance of his information, when he tells us that the Maccabees, after filling up a transverse valley on the eastern hill, also " had a mind to join the city to the temple," which can only refer to a project to fill up the valley between the western and the eastern hills, and places " the city " in their day principally upon the western hill. The palace it is known they built on the same hill is evidence pointing towards the same period ; so that the transfer of secular rule to the western hill, of which Herod the Great's Upper Palace was the culminating result, becomes in its beginnings naturally associated with the time of comparative prosperity during which Simon reigned as High Priest, and when the religious exclusiveness beginning with the return from the Exile and asserted by the Maccabees would tend to exclude both secular government and strangers settling for trade from the sacred eastern hill. The great palace-complex of the first century A.D., recently excavated on the eastern slope of the present Zion, if correctly identified as the High Priest's residence, would seem to show that this process, in its ending, excluded even that dignitary from Moriah for his secular avocations and the exercise of his fluctuating secular authority.

These conclusions, that the literary evidence, properly regarded, points to the first rise to importance of the western hill as occurring within the Maccabean dynasty, like those drawn at the beginning of this century concerning the real situation of the city of David, have been borne out by *excavation*, so far as this has gone. The first pottery so far found on the western hill is dated to the end of the Kingdom of Judah; thus implying the rise of suburbs, reasonably to be attributed to people, fleeing to Jerusalem before the Assyrian invasions, a single one of which reduced forty-two walled cities of Judah, settling outside the then fortifications when the invader withdrew. But the earliest fortification so far discovered is that part of the First Wall found within the present Citadel and dated by the excavator to the second and first centuries B.C. as to its extant masonry, and to the Maccabees as to its line.

The interpretation of the literary evidence here advanced, and the present archeological results which agree with that interpretation, do not, even together, suffice, if it can be shown that the city Nehemiah restored extended to the western hill; and very great weight of expert opinion is massed either based on, or in support of, the view that it did so extend. But much of that opinion was formulated when everyone honestly believed that David's City was on the southern end of the western hill, and much of the rest was influenced by the natural consequence of that belief, that growth from the citadel extended northwards up the western hill. We have now shown that the error, in the false light of which Nehemiah's evidence has so often been read, did not originate till three centuries after his time; and it must here, for the rest, be enough to say, that his evidence can reasonably be interpreted in relation to Ophel and Moriah alone. It is regretted that the complexity of that evidence and its interpretation demands a fulness of treatment which excludes it from the present contribution; and acceptance of the statement just made is, for the present purpose, requested, until a further contribution, now in draft, can be completed and submitted.

II. There being no evidence whatever of any *fortification of the western hill* before c. 150 B.C., and all the available evidence of any kind pointing to the construction of the First Wall, with its northern curtain moated by the Palace Ravine, about that time, the design and construction of the Second Wall cannot be dated any earlier, and should probably be dated later. Whether the Second Wall was designed with reference to dwellings beyond the First, appears to the present writer doubtful, though it of course gave protection to any it enclosed, and to the quarter which, if not pre-existent, grew up within it. The Maccabees were concerned with fortification on the eastern hill, on the site, northward of the Temple, afterwards used by Herod the Great for his Antonia castle; and would very soon realize the advisability of covering the direct communication between this fort and the First Wall which protected their own palace, already mentioned, on the western hill. As much seems to be implied by the statement of Josephus, who saw these walls standing, that the Second "*only* encompassed the northern quarter of the city," which we have seen, to him, meant the city on the western hill, but "reached as far as the tower Antonia." He clearly had some difficulty in understanding why a wall which enclosed, by his time, a ward of the city, stood where it did; and the best explanation is that it originated in the military need to connect the two preceding fortifications, as suggested above, when the shortest practicable line would be followed.

But even if the Second Wall was originally laid out to protect a suburb beyond the First Wall, the probability of it enclosing more than the traditional limits, now that we can assign a date before which it cannot have been built, is enormously reduced, as against the probability that the First Wall really existed in the times of the Kings of David's Dynasty and was restored by Nehemiah ; since the period in which further building, requiring protection, beyond the Palace Ravine, could take place, is reduced to a few decades. Thus whatever view is taken as to the provenance of the Second Wall, the date of the First, now ascertained, affords strong inferential evidence in support of the traditional view of the space enclosed by, and general trace of, the Second Wall.

The military defects of this wall in its situation and design, so fully explained in the article mentioned above, and a weakness in actual construction which appears to have shown itself during the siege of Titus, and was no doubt apparent to any skilled observer who examined the structure, so far from proving that it never existed on its traditional trace, affords an explanation, not otherwise obtainable, of the activities of Herod the Great, who sought to defend it by great works at either end, to which we now turn.

Of these works, the Antonia occupied the site, not only of the preceding Maccabean fort, but also of the earlier Syrian citadel whence the alien garrison had so grievously annoyed the worshippers round the altar : it is concluded, by the use of that artillery, unknown to former warfare, which developed with the rise and the wars between themselves of the Successor States of Alexander's Empire. The Maccabees, finally taking this citadel, cut down the summit, to prevent such future bombardment, and then fortified the site ; but it is probable that Herod's Antonia at least restored the former elevation. The inner wall of the Antonia rose forty cubits above the rock on which it was built, in strong contrast to the outer wall whose three cubits, crowning the scarped and paved sides of the rock, sufficed for protection : the most probable reason for such elevation of the inner walls appears to be, that they thus afforded a raised platform for artillery ; this is the more likely, as the great corner towers, which presumably also were designed to carry engines, rose only ten cubits higher. The distance from the S.E. corner of the Antonia to the altar rock is 230 metres ; and the contour surrounding the inner platform of the Haram-ash-Sharif and that rock, is 740 metres above sea-level, which was about the level of the base of the Antonia, though the surface on the site is now risen to 745 metres. We may thus say, in general terms, that an elevation of forty cubits sufficed to allow the artillery of that day to reach a mean effective range of 230 metres.

It is true that the S.E. tower of the Antonia was given a height of seventy cubits, but Josephus explicitly states that this elevation of twenty cubits over the other three was given " that from thence the whole temple might be *viewed* " ; nor is it likely that Herod ever intended to bombard the Temple, control of which from the Antonia he provided by other means. We are concerned only with the earlier Syrian bombardment, and that only in order to estimate the range of the artillery of the day, given the elevation, unknown in the case of the Syrian citadel but known in the case of the Antonia, over the target.

The Antonia projected beyond the line of the western side of the Temple enclosure, which itself was built out into the valley between the two hills, for one-third of its entire length ; and its western face is therefore to be related to that valley and the opposite parts of the western hill, rather than to the eastern hill. Arcs of 230 metres radius, centred on the two western corner-towers, fall short of the eastern end of the present Church of the Holy Sepulchre, but, in the direct line of the long axis of the castle, a little south of west, reach a point just west of the Tariq Bab al 'Amud, which is the northern continuation of the Suq Khan az Zeit, through which runs that part of the Way of the Cross which goes southward along the top of the western hill. The point just described, west of the Tariq Bab al 'Amud, is between the 750 and 755 metre contour of the western hill, thus now ten metres above the ground-level of the Antonia when that castle was extant : as, probably, the ground here has not risen to the extent it has on the site of the Antonia, the already ascertained probable mean effective range of the artillery concerned has been measured from the towers, rather than from the wall of the western face, since the additional ten cubits of height possessed by these towers would clearly facilitate bombardment of ground higher than that on which the castle stood.

Both the direction and the range of this power of bombardment enabled the Antonia, from its western face, and perhaps at the longer ranges within 230 metres from its two western towers only, to cover the northern face of the Second Wall; if that wall ran on the traditional alignment from the castle, to turn south just outside the Way of the Cross, where that route turns south from west after climbing the western hill; and to cover the northern face completely as far as this angle. But if the Second Wall ran materially further north, the formidable western face of the Antonia fired into the quarter it enclosed; and if it ran materially further west, the artillery of the Antonia could not reach even to its western curtain within this quarter. The probability, between these two alternatives, is obvious.

At the other end of the Second Wall Herod provided his Three Towers. Josephus, who here again was an eyewitness with direct personal knowledge from long before the siege, describes these in the order: Hippicus, Phasael, Mariamne. He takes Hippicus as marking the point where the First Wall "began on the north," which, with the general tenor of his description, makes it clear he takes the towers in their order from west to east, though this, of course, does not infer they all lay on the same straight line.

Hippicus was related to a sallyport in the Second Wall, evidently somewhere towards the southern end of that fortification, through which water was carried to it, as related by Josephus in his account of the assault on the Second Wall. (*Wars*, Book V, Ch. vii, para. 3). It, alone among the Three Towers, was provided with a great reservoir, which it carried upon its solid base twenty-five cubits each way and thirty cubits high, and which apparently occupied the whole space of the platform so provided, except for necessary stairs to the parts of the tower built over the reservoir. These provisions for supply and storage of water, the latter of which was enormously expensive in money and the former of which might well impose a strain on the garrison of the city, during a long siege, in finding carry-parties, show that this tower was a detached work, outside both the First and the Second Walls: this leaves Phasael and Mariamne as the two towers Josephus says, without naming which two of the three, were built into the First Wall. That Herod Agrippa took Hippicus as the southern bulwark of the western side of his Third Wall, erecting his own great tower Psephinus as the northern bulwark, again shows Hippicus must have been outside the Second Wall, westwards of its trace as it ran north from the First Wall; that Hippicus was outside the Second Wall, favours an alignment for the southern part of that fortification, towards the traditional line. Hippicus rose seventy-five cubits to its roof-platform, bore battlements two cubits higher and corner turrets three cubits higher still: in all, an elevation of eighty cubits, the explanation of which we can best find by turning to the still extant Phasael.

Phasael, eastwards of Hippicus, has been found by recent excavation to lie eastwards in the curve which united the western and northern curtains of the First Wall, which curve was protected by its own smaller, though no doubt adequate, towers: this discovery is in itself sufficient to exclude Hippicus from any emplacement in the northern face of the First Wall, while the account of Josephus forbids us to place it in the western face, and the evidence for its detached character is thus complete. But Phasael was not emplaced where the curve ran into the straight west-east northern curtain of the First Wall, so much as square to the wall in the eastern part of the curve, thus directing its northern face N.N.W. That it was from this face that the maximum fire would probably be required, is shown, not only by the nature of the case, but also by Phasael, unlike the foursquare Hippicus, being built oblong, with the northerly and southerly faces half as long again as the other two. 230 metres from this face reaches to ground in the middle of the high mass which the present west wall runs north-westerly to enclose; and it is 370 metres on this line to the present north wall, just west of the Franciscan School. At 230 metres the target-area is almost on the 780 metre contour, while the present ground-level round Phasael is about 770 metres above sea-level, but in Herod's day was about ten metres lower; so that, unless the ground-level in the target area has risen comparably, which is unlikely since that area was not, on any view, built upon until later than the first building on or near the site of the present Citadel, the centre of Phasael's target-area was perhaps twenty metres above its base, and the far side higher still. It is possible that some of the engines of Phasael were intended to be placed on the roof of the cloister, which rose ten cubits above the top of the solid part, and within which, it would appear from Josephus' comparison of the appearance of Phasael with that of the Pharos at Alexandria, the upper part of the former was built. Engines so placed would be the fifty cubits above ground-level already met as the elevation given by the towers of the Antonia. But that the upper part of Phasael was itself " another tower " with battlements and turrets more than those of Hippicus, rising about ninety cubits above the ground-level, demonstrates a determination completely to command, by giving the engines sufficient elevation, that high ground which the designers of the present walls denied to an enemy by enclosing it within the ramparts. Hippicus now clearly appears as the partner of Phasael in this task, its slightly lower elevation being perhaps accounted for by its site being slightly higher ; as well as a detached fortification capable of all-round defence, protecting the two walls near their junction, and probably covering the western curtain of the First Wall by its fire southwards.

It is in the highest degree improbable such works would have been undertaken where they were, had the target area then been enclosed within a fortification which, at that date, could only have been the Second Wall ; which once more suggests alignment for both the western and northern face of that Wall somewhere near the traditional positions.

This conclusion is reinforced by consideration of Mariamne. Lying eastwards of Phasael, and built into the First Wall, she can only be placed on or near the present site of the Banco di Roma, or beyond, and regarded as facing north. Thence, her artillery reached ground at about the same level as that at her base, the 230 metre range finding a point west of the north side of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre ; so we are not surprised that her total height was the fifty cubits we have already seen was that adopted for the Antonia towers also designed to command ground at about the same level as that on which they stood. Her purpose can only have been to cover the western curtain of the Second Wall ; which places that curtain exactly on its traditional alignment, although Mariamne's range extended beyond the point where the wall is thought to have turned eastwards for its traverse south of Calvary.

Both the Antonia and the Three Towers of course served purposes other than those we have considered. To cause one fortification to serve as many purposes as possible is a simple application of the military principle of economy of force. But the purposes with which we are concerned indicate the situation of the Second Wall which they covered with their fire, or protected, in the case of Hippicus and Phasael, by commanding ground whence an assault on it might be mounted. It is not possible to draw the trace of the Second Wall, so accurately indicated on its traditional alignment by the lines of fire from these fortifications, much further north or much further west, without a confession that Herod's great structures were from the beginning designed to fire into the northern quarter of the city. Herod might conceivably have been capable of the wickedness of such a design, but our very considerable knowledge of his character and achievements forbids us to impute to him its foolishness.

III. Consideration of the flanking fire provided by Herod the Great to cover the faces of the Second Wall he found existent, by bringing the western face of the Antonia sufficiently forward and by the siting and design of the Three Towers, does not directly bear on the question whether the re-entrant in the Second Wall which traditionally ran round Golgotha existed or not. We have however now seen that ground rising above the base of an emplacement was reached, by affording additional elevation, of ten cubits for ground rising ten metres above the base-level, and of another twenty-five or thirty cubits for the next ten metres, or more, rise of the target area; and there was no reason why the ground westward of the present Tariq Bab al 'Amud should not have been commanded by bringing the western face of the Antonia more to the west, and building up its towers to the necessary height, had such command been necessary. That it was not so commanded very strongly suggests that the northern curtain of the Second Wall ended at about the mean effective range of the western face of the Antonia, that is, on or about the line of the Tariq Bab al 'Amud, that is, where tradition makes it end. But if the wall did turn southwards there, continuation of the line it then followed southwards as far as the First Wall brings the Second Wall to join that earlier fortification further east than any view holds was the case, and throws the western curtain of the Second Wall out of relation to the probable position of Mariamne. The evidence we have considered therefore strongly suggests, by inference, that after the termination of the northern curtain on or slightly to the west of the line of the street mentioned, there was a curtain running south, and then a turn of the wall to the west, and a curtain facing north and running as far as the line of the western curtain. This describes a re-entrant on or near the traditional position. When we attempt to determine the position of its north-facing curtain more accurately, the analogy, between the protection afforded the north curtain of the First Wall by the Palace Ravine, and that offered to this curtain by the dip south of Calvary, on the southern side of which it traditionally stood, is obvious ; and it is unlikely the original designers of the Second Wall, building it as an outwork connecting the First Wall near the western end of its northern curtain with the Maccabean fort on the site of the later Antonia, overlooked either the example of their main bulwark, the First Wall, behind them, or the protection this dip offered to a traverse from west to east they were bound to introduce somewhere.

Thus while consideration of Herod's fortifications suggests the existence of a re-entrant more or less where tradition places it, consideration of the actual ground and of contemporary or closely preceding methods of fortification confirms the traditional detail. This has also been confirmed archaeologically by discovery of traces of a city-wall, with a forward fosse, southwards and eastwards of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre ; and by discovery of the stone door-sill, still in situ, of the gate which tradition again places in the westward-facing curtain of the re-entrant near its southern end.

Moreover the existence of this re-entrant affords a further, and urgent, reason, for the care taken to dominate the high ground north-westwards from which an assault on the Second Wall could have been mounted, for we now see that such an assault would go into ground blind, by reason of the re-entrant, to both the Antonia and the Three Towers ; and for the range of Mariamne, whose fire, in prolongation of the line of the western curtain, covered the open western side of the space enclosed on the east and south by the re-entrant.

IV. There appears to be no direct evidence that any of Herod's fortifications ever bore such engines as they might have mounted ; and, whatever he may have been permitted by the Romans to do, his artillery would probably have been worn out by A.D. 70, even if it had not been dismantled by procurators concerned much more to dominate the city than to defend it, and was, we know from direct testimony, represented during the siege of Titus only by such field artillery as the Jews captured from their enemies and such engines as they were able to make for themselves. None the less, there is considerable evidence to be gathered from Josephus' eye-witness account of the operations of A.D. 70 in support of the conclusions reached.

He states, in the first place, that one division of the Jewish army was detailed to defend the Second Wall from the Antonia and from the northern cloister of the Temple ; which they clearly could only do by artillery fire, and which not only places the northern curtain of the Second Wall on its traditional alignment, but shows it joined the Antonia near its south-western angle, otherwise engines mounted on the roof of the northern cloister of the Temple could not have covered that curtain, even by overhead fire to the ground some distance in front of it.

Such a disposition would cause any assaulting army to choose a point beyond range for its attack ; and the first point beyond range was within the re-entrant, which was also blind both to the Antonia and to the Three Towers. These do not enter into the account of the dispositions for the defence of the Second Wall, beyond mention of the sallyport through which water was carried to Hippicus, already discussed, as the left flank position of the division detailed to man the

Second Wall and its towers: a disastrous fire had already destroyed the upper parts of the Three Towers, presumably together with any engines which were mounted upon them; while the general tenor of the history seems to show that the Jews massed what artillery was available to them on the Antonia and the Temple, the positions directly threatened once Titus, coming down from Scopus, had won the Third Wall.

That he next attacked the Second Wall, was clearly to destroy the covered communication we have seen it afforded from the Three Towers and their associated fortifications to the Antonia; now, since Herod's rebuilding, through the entries to the Temple from the valley between the hills and so over the northern cloister into the castle; so almost isolating the principal objective, the Antonia and Temple, from the troops held within the First Wall and Herod's Upper Palace, before attacking it. But he could not deviate far to the right from the axis of his advance, that is, far to the west, without presenting his left flank, and as he got forward uncovering his communications, to adversaries already found extremely enterprising; while the further west he went, the further he had to bring up his breaching train and his supplies. These considerations brought him to the re-entrant itself; and the proximity of the Third Wall to the Second in the southern parts of their courses created difficulties in mounting an attack on the Second Wall there, apart altogether from the undesirable proximity of the Three Towers, although Titus at this time appears to have been master of the Third Wall as far as the neighbourhood of Hippicus.

The blindness of the re-entrant made such a decision also tactically convenient, while the ancillary strength obtained from the nature of the ground seems to have caused Titus to attack the westward-facing of the two curtains, perhaps the more since this carried a tower which would have flanked an attack on the curtain beyond the dip; but these considerations all of them forced Titus to attack on a narrow front. They do not account for his decision, when he had breached the Second Wall, to effect penetration in preference to lateral expansion accompanied by progressive demolition; but desire to avoid casualties from the fire of the Antonia among working-parties on the north curtain accounts for his attempted operation, especially as demolition only towards his right would have opened his left flank undesirably. Nor do these considerations show why Titus detailed only a thousand men for the penetration, attempting to make up for paucity of numbers by quality of personnel ; but the Second Wall on its traditional alignment explains why there was no room inside it for more than a thousand men to be conveniently handled. In the event, Titus only succeeded in withdrawing these selected troops, in face of a Jewish rally within the wall, by personal bravery on his own part and that of one of his officers : when he again forced the breach he demolished the wall, apparently finding himself forced to accept casualties from the fire of the Antonia, before again penetrating into and destroying the quarter it enclosed.

V. A reason, not apparent from the narrative, is required, for the extreme of fanatical tenacity the Jews displayed in their defence of the Second Wall, which is fully described, and which Titus found it necessary to counter by his own direct conduct of this subsidiary operation, use of picked units for the penetration, and personal leadership of the troops. Jewish behaviour analogous to that, for reasons well known, later associated with the defence of the Temple itself, is found here in defence of a wall not obviously very important, enclosing only a small quarter of the city, protecting no great sacred or secular buildings, and itself so weak it was breached within five days of the Third Wall being overcome. This reason appears if, as all the evidence seems to indicate, the point of assault was at or close to Calvary. Josephus' silence on the subject of Christianity is so little evidence that he knew nothing about it, that a recent Jewish writer, Lion Feuchtwanger in his *Josephus, A Historical Romance*, basing himself on Josephus' own works and in a passage, describing conditions in the city shortly before the siege, which is a paraphrase of his original, finds it necessary to supplement his authority by inserting, as originating from Josephus' own knowledge, a statement concerning the withdrawal of the Church of

Jerusalem to Pella. That withdrawal left the city without any competent witness to the Christian verity; but inevitably afforded full scope to the wildest stories about the Messiah who defied the Roman death by rising again and who would re-appear, among the Jewish soldiers, who fought the whole war under Messianic expectations, and by no means confined their anticipations to manifestations within the ordinary limits of human experience.

VI. Such is the main body of the present contribution; but it is now desired to discuss directly some of Lt.-Col. Clarke's statements.

(1) He suggests that any wall there may have been on the trace of the Second Wall was designed to stop raiders. This supposition appears probable; nor are it, and the suggestion advanced above, that the original purpose was to afford covered communication between two important localities, mutually exclusive: both purposes may well have been served by the same construction. Especially when the situation of each curtain, on the reverse slope of a ridge, or facing ground sloping towards it, is realized, does it seem likely there was an intention to stop a rush of men armed, but without siege equipment, and to decimate them by archery as they retired with the slope against them. But to date such a defence to Hadrian's reign, as Lt.-Col. Clarke does, is to depart altogether from the conclusions generally accepted as to the situation and lay-out of Aelia, which bring Calvary into the middle of the rectangular colony. Nor does Lt.-Col. Clarke's argument that Palestine, immediately after the Emperor in person had made war there and when he was directly concerned with the foundation of a city named from his own family, was in such disorder that that city was in fear of bandit-raids, carry much conviction to the present writer. Conditions in the Maccabean period, when in the breakdown of the Seleucidian Empire disorder was widespread throughout Syria, and the family of Judas was slowly establishing a grip on Judaea, appear to satisfy Lt.-Col. Clarke's requirement of disorder, better than do those of the period he chooses.

(2) He says that the traditional trace of the Second Wall

" is alien to characteristic Jewish defences," which he claims were placed on or forward of a crest. There is no reason to seek defences characteristic of the era of the Northern and Southern Kingdoms in work carried out in the Maccabean period ; and the engineer ordered to defend Jerusalem by a northward-facing wall he is ordered to site on or forward of a crest, appears to be given a difficult task. The requirement is certainly not met by the site of the present north wall, the general line of which is chosen by Lt.-Col. Clarke as that of the north face of the Second Wall of the First Century A.D.; nor is there any reason to think the ground here ever sloped in his required direction. The western curtain of the Second Wall appears to have run along the eastern edge of the top of the western hill, below the crest, but above ground sloping more steeply to the valley behind. On 2nd April, 1945, the present writer noticed that from the footpath running across the eastern hill 100 metres north of the line of the north wall of the City of David, buildings on that line are visible, and behind them nothing but the upper part of the hill beyond Siloam. From that line practically the whole of the top of Ophel is visible. After making all due allowance for the rise of levels on this site, it seems true to say that the earliest known defence of Jerusalem, the rock-cut trench, and the earliest known north wall, the Jebusite rampart which superseded the trench, were placed facing a gentle slope, with the ground falling more steeply behind. The Second Wall was therefore not alien to defences known from early ages in Jerusalem.

(3) Lt.-Col. Clarke states that the Second Wall had stood for 700 years before, it would appear from his context, either the work of Herod or the destruction by Titus ; during the earlier part of which time the Jewish Kingdom had ample opportunity to construct proper defences with the best advice and ample resources. The defects of the Second Wall, so fully expounded by Lt.-Col. Clarke, and fully admitted by the present writer, are understandable, when his statement as to its antiquity, with the consequent argument that the self-respecting House of David would have provided proper fortification, is seen to rest on nothing more than the error which

Josephus, no doubt in all good faith, adopted and perpetuated ; and when it is realized that all the evidence at present extant goes to show that the Second Wall cannot be dated higher than Maccabean times, when expenditure on the Temple, the First Wall, and the fort north of the Temple, may have forced those responsible for the outwork we call the Second Wall to build, not as they would, but as they could.

(4) Lt.-Col. Clarke states in reference to fortification comparable to the Antonia itself, the Three Towers, " we have always to remember their raison d'être. They were built solely (sic !) to strengthen Herod's palace, for his own security " ; and " no commander would have sited Hippicus on the flat saddle, where it could fulfil no tactical function, except to blanket the fire of the towers in the First Wall." These remarks are quoted to show the difficulties in which those, who insist that the Second Wall lay too far west to be flanked by Herod's tower-complex, and too far north for those towers to do anything but fire inside it, involve themselves ; difficulties they would also experience in understanding that role of the Antonia with which we are chiefly concerned, were they not at first sight protected by Josephus' insistence on the relation of that castle to the Temple. When Josephus flourished the Antonia had been reduced to an internal role, at least in the theory of the defence of the city, by the foundation of Herod Agrippa's Third Wall, which was an attempt to remedy all defects of the northern defences of the city, by major first-class construction far beyond any then existing. The completion of the Third Wall did in fact reduce the Antonia to an internal role, during the siege, until the Third Wall was stormed, when we immediately find a part of the Jewish army comparable to that entrusted with manning the Second Wall detailed to cover it by fire from the Antonia, the western face of which thus assumed in battle the purpose for which it had been sited and designed. Similarly the Third Wall threw the functions of the Three Towers, except Hippicus, into internal defence, until the Third Wall fell. But in the original intention of Herod the Great, seeking among other objects to protect the Second Wall he found facing open country, such were not the functions of either the Antonia or the answerable tower-complex at the

other end of the Second Wall; and, had that wall run where Lt.-Col. Clarke would have us believe, there was no reason why Herod, having the same object in mind, to protect it by flanking fire, should not have sited the Antonia further north, and the Three Towers further west, or provided separate fortifications, of which we should have a description by Josephus, at the two ends of the Second Wall.

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THE LACHISH OSTRACA: PROFESSOR TORCZYNER'S LATEST VIEWS

By D. Winton Thomas

Professor Torczyner's *The Lachish Letters*, published in 1938, was followed in 1940 by an edition in Hebrew.[1] This Hebrew edition was not merely a translation of his English edition, but a new work, in which both the reading and interpretation of the ostraca were studied afresh in the light of the work done by scholars since the appearance of the English edition. The results of this fresh study have now been presented by Professor Torczyner in an abridged form in English, in a manuscript sent to the present writer by the Editor of *P.E.Q.* In the Hebrew edition all twenty-one ostraca, the eighteen discovered in 1935 and the three found in 1938, are included. The manuscript deals only with I-VI, IX, XIII and XVII-XXI. Professor Torczyner's reading of I is generally adopted, and he has little fresh to add to what he has already written about it. No account of it is taken, therefore, in this article, nor of the fragmentary IX, XIII, XVII and XVIII, nor of the three newer ones, XIX-XXI,[2] detailed studies of which have been made by H. L. Ginsberg,[3] W. F. Albright,[4] and, of course, by Professor Torczyner himself in his Hebrew edition.[5] In what follows, the present writer confines himself to a few observations upon Professor Torczyner's views with regard to some points of interest and difficulty in Ostraca II-VI.

Ostracon II. *Line* 1: T. still favours the pronunciation

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[1] תעודות לכיש (*Library of Palestinology of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society*, ed. S. Yeivin, XV/XVII), Jerusalem, 1940.

[2] Their discovery was first reported by C. H. Inge in *P.E.Q.*, 1938, p. 254.

[3] *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 80 (1940), p. 11 ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, 82 (1941), p. 24.

[5] Pp. 197 ff. Reproductions of the three ostraca may be found on p. 199, p. 214 and p. 218.

Yā'ūsh (יאוש) rather than Yā'ōsh,[1] which is to be preferred, and is generally adopted.[2]

Line 5: The second word has been read variously—as יזכר (Qal or Hiph.), ימכר, יעכר, and ינכר. T. rejects them all in favour of his original reading יבכר. While it is true that T. is not without some justification in reading the second letter as ב,[3] a satisfactory interpretation of יבכר is extremely difficult. Neither T's. earlier interpretation, viz. בכר=בקר "inspect, investigate," nor his latest attempt to explain it as meaning "prevent" (the object being אמרי "my saying," which is read in lines 5/6) carry conviction. Of the other readings proposed, the choice appears to lie between יעכר and ינכר, the former being epigraphically the more satisfactory.[4]

OSTRACON III. *Lines* 4/5. It is good to see that T. has abandoned his interpretation of הפקח as "the open-eyed, the seer" in reference to the prophet mentioned in line 20 of this ostracon.[5] To the suggestions for reading this word which have already been proposed by others,[6] T. now adds yet another, viz., הֲפָקַח, i.e., the ה is neither that of the article nor of any verbal form,[7] but of the interrogative particle. The object of פקח T. thinks to be אזן "ear," which he now reads in place of his earlier reading רזם, and before אזן he sees traces of אדם. The whole phrase thus becomes הפקח אדם אזן עבדך "Has somebody opened thy slave's ear?" It should be observed, however, that the word which T. reads as אזן is much more probably to be read as עין "eye."[1]

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[1] See the present writer's article in *Journ. of Theol. Studies*, XL (January, 1939), p. 4, n.1. As this article will be referred to frequently in the footnotes, the abbreviation *J.T.S.* will be used to indicate it. Other abbreviations employed are as follows: A.=W. F. Albright, and Gi.=H. L. Ginsberg, both in the *Bull. of the Amer. Schools of Or. Res.*; E¹.=K. Elliger, Die Ostraka von Lachis, in *Palästinajahrbuch*, 1938, pp. 30 ff; E².=the same writer's Zu Text und Schrift der Ostraka von Lachis, in *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Pal.-Vereins*, 1939, pp. 63 ff; B.=S. Birnbaum, The Lachish Ostraca II, in *P.E.Q.*, 1939, pp. 91 ff; R.=J. Reider, The Lachish Letters, in *Jew. Quart. Rev.*, XXIX (1938-39), pp. 225 ff.; V.=R. de Vaux, Les Ostraka de Lâchis, in *Rev. Biblique*, 1939, pp. 181 ff.; Va.=A. Vaccari, Le Lettere di Lachis, in *Biblica*, Vol 20, 1939, pp. 180 ff.

[2] So E¹., p. 32, n.1; R., p. 227; V., p. 187; Va., p. 184.

[3] Cp. B., p. 93; Va., p. 186.

[4] So E²., p. 65; V., p. 188; A., 82 (1941), p. 19.

[5] Cp. *J.T.S.*, p. 6.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

[7] *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*, n. 3. See further V., p. 191; A., 73 (1939), p. 17; 82 (1941), p. 19.

Line 15: The reading כניהו[2] in place of T's. [י]כבריהו is to be regarded as correct, and is now accepted by T.

Line 19: T. now accepts the readings טביהו and עבד, which are now generally adopted,[3] in place of his earlier נדביהו and נכד.

Line 20: T. still maintains his identification of the prophet (הנבא) with Uriah, the son of Shemaiah, of Kiriath-jearim (Jer. xxvi, 20 ff.). This can only be a matter for regret, since the chronological and other difficulties involved in this identification are so serious as to render it quite inadmissible.[4]

Ostracon IV. *Line* 9: In connection with T's. interpretation of תסבה as meaning "survey tour," it is interesting to recall the use of סבב in 1 Sam. vii, 16.[5]

Lines 12/13: T. has reconsidered the reading לֹא נראָה אֹת עזקה "the signal of Azekah has not appeared," but adheres to his own לאֹ נראֶה אֶת עזקה "we do not see Azekah," for "the signals of Azekah." The rejected reading is certainly attractive, but the possibility that T's. reading is correct must be allowed.[6] It would seem to be going too far to disallow the possibility on the ground that the preceding נחנו שמרם would demand איננו רא[י]ם for "we are not seeing."[7]

It is to be noted that T. now shows some hesitation as to the identification of Tell ed-Duweir with Lachish on the evidence of lines 9b-13. Earlier he had claimed that these lines gave positive proof of the identification. That they do not has been demonstrated by other writers.[1]

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[1] See Gi., 71 (1938), p. 25 f., and 80 (1940), p. 11. Cp. V., p. 189; A., 73 (1939), p. 17, n. 14.

[2] Proposed by V., p. 193. Cp. A., 82 (1941), p. 19.

[3] Cp. *J.T.S.*, p. 11, n.5 and 6; V., p. 193; R., p. 235; E²., p. 68; Va., p. 187; B., p. 97 f.; A., 82 (1941), p. 21.

[4] See *J.T.S.*, p. 5 f.

[5] For some recent remarks on תסבה see H. G. May, *Bull. of the Amer. Sch. of Or. Res.*, 97 (1945), p. 25.

[6] See *J.T.S.*, p. 9, n.3. Cp. V., p. 196; Va., p. 191, 192, n.1; A., 82 (1941), p. 21.

[7] This objection is put forward by Gi., 80 (1940), p. 11.

Ostracon V. *Lines* 9/10: The last word of line 9 is now read by T. as ינא (=יָנִיא from נוא), and line 10 is read טביהו זרע למלך, the whole being translated, beginning with מה לעבדך—"What has thy slave that he should oppose Tobiyahu, the arm (=the special servant) of the king?" T. thus abandons his earlier reading זֶרַע "seed" for זְרֹעַ "arm." The letter which T. reads as ז is, however, more probably a י, and Albright's reading "יטב או ירע" "benefit or injure" is much to be preferred, and is generally adopted.[2]

Ostracon VI. *Line* 5. The reading of the last word as הנבא "the prophet" is still maintained by T. as against השרם "the princes" which is read by some others. The present writer is unable to see clearly any letter on the reproductions of the ostracon, either in the Hebrew or the English edition, except the letter ה, which is certain.[3]

From these few observations, which touch only upon some of the problems which abound in these ostraca, it will be seen that Professor Torczyner, while accepting some superior readings proposed by others, still adheres, sometimes, it would seem, without good reason, to some inferior ones. The present writer has elsewhere written of the ostraca—"Quite clearly the primary task of scholarship is to concern itself, not with attempts to interpret them, but with that which alone will provide a sure basis for such attempts, namely, the establishment of the true reading of the texts."[4]

[1] See A. Jirku, *Zeitschr. f.d. alttest. Wiss.*, XVI (1939), p. 152 f. Cp. the present writer in *P.E.Q.*, 1940, p. 148 f. A.82 (1941), p. 21, thinks the present writer goes too far. He grants, however, that the evidence of the letter is not decisive in itself, but he regards it as "an important corroboration of the argument from topography and archaeology."

[2] See *J.T.S.*, p. 12, n.1. Cp. Gi., 80 (1940), p. 11.

[3] Cp. *J.T.S.*, p. 8. It is to be noted that Harding's hand copy in T's. English edition shows only this letter; cp. B., p. 104. A., 73 (1939), p. 19, n.25, however, sees clear traces of ש on the photograph. V., p. 198, sees on the sherd itself the beginning of a ש, though he cannot recognise ר (but see E²., p. 76). Va., p. 197, thinks both הנבא and השרם are arbitrary, but that there is more to be said for the former reading.

[4] *J.T.S.*, p. 15.

It is difficult, it must be confessed, altogether to escape the impression that Professor Torczyner has sometimes gone to work the other way, and that he has allowed his own readings to be determined too much by his own interpretation of the texts and too little by the epigraphic evidence. It is, however, a matter for satisfaction that, in these his latest views, he has abandoned some, but as has been shown above, by no means all, of the improbabilities which appeared in his 1938 edition.

SOME NEW SELEUCID COINS

BY STELLA BEN-DOR

THE present note deals with three Seleucid coins struck in Palestine which seem to be hitherto unknown. Coins Nos. 1 and 3 are in the possession of the Museum of Jewish Antiquities of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem,[1] No. 2 is in the Palestine Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem.[2]

1. The first coin (*Fig*.1) is of silver, 24 mm. in diameter, ↑ (Inv. No. 2907). *Obverse :* Diademed and draped bust of a young king to r. *Reverse :* Eagle to l., lower part off flan ; in the field behind him, a barley-stalk ; border of dots. The circular inscription reads ΒΑ [ΣΙΛΕΩΣ] ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ; the right portion is off flan. The l. field contains the date ΘΞΡ= year 169 of the Seleucid era, which corresponds to 144/3 B.C. ; the coin therefore belongs to *Antiochus vi*. Between the eagle's legs, a monogram ; in the r. field, a ligature of the three letters ΠΤΟ forming the beginning of the name Πτολεμαίς, or Ake where the coin was struck. This mint is further indicated by the barley-stalk behind the eagle, as shown by Newell in his study of the mint of Ptolemais.[3] The sign L which precedes the date, though common in Ptolemaic Egypt, is not found as a rule on Seleucid coins, except on those struck in Phoenicia. The weight of the coin, 13.86 gr., corresponds to the standard of the so-called Phoenician tetradrachms.

The coin just described was offered for sale in Jerusalem in the summer of 1942, together with several others which apparently belonged to one hoard. Besides our coin, there were seven other Seleucid tetradrachms, all of them covered with the same purplish-grey patina, and all struck at Tyre. Of the seven coins, one is of Alexander Balas (acquired by the Mus. of Jewish Ant., Inv. No. 2906), two of Demetrius ii, and four of Antiochus vii. They range in date from 150/49 to 135/4 B.C.

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[1] They were described in Hebrew in *Kedem*, Vol. II, 1945. I have to thank Prof. E. L. Sukenik for kind permission to publish them here again.

[2] My thanks are due to the Director of the Department of Antiquities for kindly allowing me to publish the coin and for placing its photograph at my disposal.

[3] E. T. Newell, *Late Seleucid Mints in Ake-Ptolemais and Damascus* (NNM, No. 84), 1939, p. 3.

2. The second coin (*Fig.* 2) is equally a Phoenician tetradrachm (13.19 gr., 26 mm., 0; Pal. Arch. Mus. No. Sel. 578.1). Its *obverse* shows a diademed and draped bust of *Antiochus vi* to r.; border of dots. *Reverse:* Eagle to l. on thunderbolt,[1] behind him, a barley-stalk; border of dots. Around, the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛЄΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ; the monogram of Ptolemais in the r. field and that between the eagle's legs, are similar to those of the preceding coin; in field l., the date ΑΟΡ=year 171 of the Seleucid era, or 142/1 B.C.

3. (Inv. No. 2508.) Bronze coin of *Demetrius ii Nicator*, 4.49 gr., 20 mm., ↑ (*Fig.* 3). *Obverse:* Diademed, draped bust of Demetrius to r. *Reverse:* Figure standing to l., clad in short chiton, holding in r. hand arrow (?), in l. arch (?); border of dots. The details of the type are obscure owing to the bad state of preservation of its central part. The circular inscription reads ΒΑΣΙΛЄΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ. In r. field, the well known sign of Gaza ⌐|┘; in l. field, the date ΑΟΡ=171 of the Seleucid era, or 142/1 B.C., and a monogram composed of the two letters ΓΑ.

Since the coin was struck in Gaza, the reverse type may perhaps represent Artemis who often appears on coins of this mint, though only in the Roman period, and in a different attitude, as a rule accompanied by Marnas.[2] On the other hand, the figure may be a representation of Apollo who is very commonly found on coins of the Seleucids, an allusion to their Apolline origin; it should be noted, however, that the figure differs from the usual Seleucid types.

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[1] Newell (*loc. cit.*) has pointed out that the thunderbolt is characteristic for the mint of Ptolemais.

[2] e.g. G. F. Hill, *B. M. Cat. of Coins, Palestine*, 1914, Nos. 14ff., 100 ff., etc.

Let us now consider the circumstances under which the coins were struck. Our chief sources for the history of this period, Josephus[1] and the *First Book of Maccabees*,[2] give us some insight into the chaotic state of the declining Seleucid empire. We learn that Tryphon raised a revolt against Demetrius ii and proclaimed the infant son of Alexander Balas king, as Antiochus vi Epiphanes Dionysus. Demetrius had to leave his capital Antioch and retreat to the cities of the Phoenician coast, as proved by coins which he continued to strike in Tyre and Sidon.[3] With a view to strengthening his position, Tryphon, the guardian of the infant Antiochus, looked for support in the neighbouring Jewish domain and tried to win the adherence of the Maccabees by appointing Simon, the brother of Jonathan, στρατηγός " from the Ladder of Tyre unto the borders of Egypt " (1 Macc. xi, 59). As a result of this appointment, Jonathan and Simon had to wrest the sea-coast from the hands of the followers of Demetrius. And in fact, Gaza and Ascalon were captured by them, and battles were fought between the two contending parties in Galilee and in Syria.

Who owned Ptolemais in the turbulent years following the accession of Antiochus vi ? Some time ago Newell discussed the matter in his masterly study of the mint of Antioch. He came to the conclusion that immediately after the beginning of the revolt in Apamea in 145 B.C., Antiochus vi struck a few coins in this city, but that from 144 B.C. onwards his *only* mint was Antioch, because " he . . . was unable to secure the cities of the Phoenician coast which remained loyal to Demetrius throughout the remainder of that monarch's first reign."[4] It was Tryphon who " soon after his usurpation came into possession of . . . Ptolemais."[5]

Newell's conclusions were based on the fact that no coins were known to have been issued by Antiochus vi in any city of the Phoenician coast.[1] But our coin No. 1 clearly shows that as early as 144/3 B.C. Ptolemais was in his hands: Antiochus vi captured Antioch in the 168th year of the Seleucid era (145/4 B.C.); his occupation of Ptolemais must have followed shortly afterwards, since the coin under discussion bears the date 169.

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[1] *Antt.*, xiii, 5, 1-7.

[2] xi, 39-74.

[3] E. Babelon, *Les rois de Syrie*, 1890, Nos.955-958,960,963-967,970-978.

[4] E. T. Newell, *The Seleucid Mint of Antioch*, 1918 (henceforward referred to as *Antioch*), p. 61.

[5] *ibidem*, p. 71.

In this and in the following year, the 170th of the Seleucid era, Antiochus vi continued to issue coins in his capital Antioch.[2] Since none were known bearing a later date, it was generally assumed that he died in 170 (143/2 B.C.).[3] Our coin No. 2, however, shows that he was still alive in 171; since the coin seems to be unique, we have to suppose that it belonged to an issue of short duration, and that Antiochus died at the very beginning of 171 (after October, 142 B.C.).

Now, according to 1 *Maccabees*,[4] Tryphon having strengthened his position changed his friendly policy towards the Jews; he even got hold of Jonathan and treacherously murdered him. Then he had the infant Antiochus vi killed and usurped the throne for himself. As a result of these events, Simon broke off his allegiance to Tryphon, made peace with Demetrius ii, and " in the one hundred and seventieth year was the yoke of the heathen taken away from Israel " (1 *Macc*. xiii, 41).

In other words, Tryphon murdered Antiochus vi *in or before* 170 (143/2 B.C.) in which year Judaea gained political independence from Demetrius ii.

Josephus, on the other hand, tells us that " Simon . . . on the very first year of his high-priesthood set his people free from their slavery under the Macedonians . . . which liberty and freedom from tribute they obtained, after 170 years of the kingdom of the Assyrians . . ." (*Antt*. xiii, 6, 6), and further, " a little while after Demetrius had been carried into captivity, Tryphon his governor destroyed Antiochus, the son of Alexander, who was also called "the god," and this when he had reigned four years" (*Antt*. xiii, 7, 1).

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[1] The coins assigned to Ptolemais by Babelon (*Les rois de Syrie*, Nos. 996, 1005) were shown by Newell to have been struck in Antioch (*Antioch*, Nos. 240, 259).

[2] *Antioch*, pp. 61-66.

[3] B. Niese, *Geschichte d. griechischen u. makedonischen Staaten*, iii, 1903, p. 283; E. R. Bevan, in *Cambridge Anc. Hist.*, viii, 1930, p. 527; Newell, *Antioch*, p. 71.

[4] xii, 39—xiii, 41.

Thus Josephus places the murder of Antiochus vi after Demetrius ii was taken prisoner by the Parthians.[1] We know that the latter event occurred in 173 (140/39 B.C.) at the earliest, because in this year coins were still struck in Tyre[2] and Gaza[3] bearing his name and portrait.

From the numismatic evidence we may gather that Tryphon raised the revolt in Apamea on behalf of the infant Antiochus at the end of 167 (145 B.C.),[4] and by 168 (145/4 B.C.) the latter was properly installed as king in his capital Antioch.[5] The evidence of our coin No. 2 shows that Antiochus vi died in the beginning of 171 (end of 142 B.C.), and the interval between 168 and 171 gives us the four years of reign required by Josephus.[6] Tryphon became king after the death of Antiochus vi, some time in 171 (142/1 B.C.) and ruled until the accession of Antiochus vii in 174 (139/8 B.C.).[7] The death of Tryphon is to be placed in 174, after a reign of four years, as shown by his Phoenician coins the latest issues of which bear the date LΔ.[8]

There is one more point to be noted. When comparing the portraits on coins Nos. 1 and 2, one is struck by the fact that they do not seem to represent the same person.

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[1] This view was adopted by Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Séleucides*, II, 1914, p. 630.

[2] Babelon, *op. cit.*, No. 978.

[3] *ibidem*, No. 979.

[4] Some rare tetradrachms bearing the date 167 are ascribed by Newell to this mint (cf. *Antioch*, p. 61, note 31).

[5] *Antioch*, pp. 62-63.

[6] There is still another possibility to be considered: Antiochus VI may have died in 170 and the coin struck after his death. Such posthumous issues are known in the Seleucid series (e.g. E. T. Newell, *The Pergamene mint of Philetaerus*, 1936, p. 21) but they are rather confined to the early Seleucids. Moreover, our assumption seems to fit better into the chronological scheme.

[7] Cf. I *Macc.*, xv, 10. This is also confirmed by his bronze coins bearing dates from 174 onwards (cf, *Antioch*, p. 81).

[8] Babelon, *op. cit.*, p. cxxxviii. This does not contradict Josephus' statement that his rule lasted three years only (*Antt.*, xiii, 7, 2), if we assume that the dates on the coins refer to calendar years and not to regnal years.

No 2. shows the childish features of an infant, as Antiochus vi is usually represented on his coins of Antioch.[1] The obverse of coin No. 1, on the other hand, is that of a young boy in his teens, who bears a resemblance to Demetrius ii[2] rather than to Antiochus vi. Thus it seems perhaps not unreasonable to assume that a die of Demetrius found in the mint of Ptolemais after its capture by Antiochus may have been used for striking the obverse of coin No. 1.

We have already mentioned the peace-treaty of 170 between Simon and Demetrius ii. It has been suggested[3] that the return of Gaza to Demetrius was among its terms, because of the fact that in the 173rd year of the Seleucid era Demetrius struck coins at Gaza. Our coin No. 3, issued in the 17st year, shortly after the conclusion of the peace, makes the assumption almost a certainty : there seems to be no doubt that Gaza passed into the hands of Demetrius ii in the 170th year, or 143/2 B.C.

The conclusions arrived at may be summed up as follows :

1. Antiochus vi added Ptolemais to his domain at least as early as the 169th year of the Seleucid era (144/3 B.C.), as shown by coin No. 1.

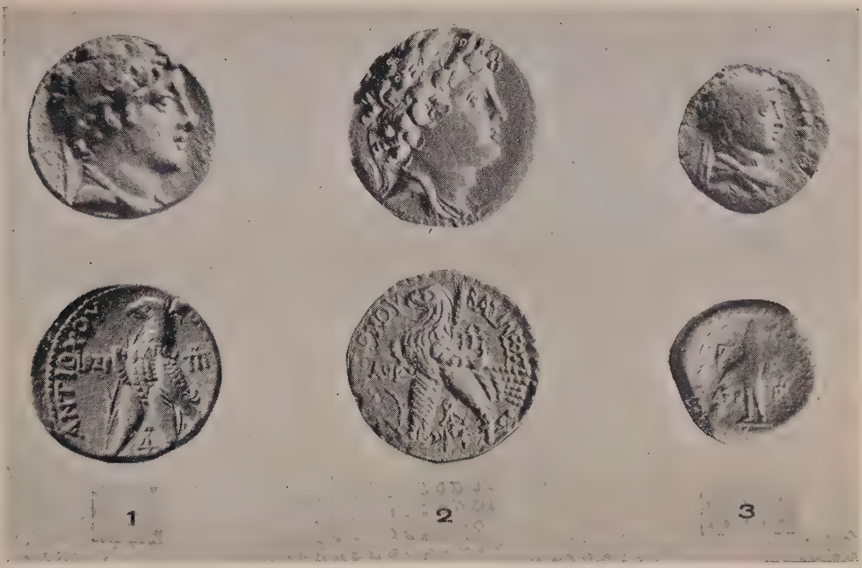
2. Coin No. 2 clearly proclaims that Antiochus vi was not murdered before 171 (142/1 B.C.), and contradicts the hitherto accepted view that this event occurred in the 170th year of the Seleucid era.

3. Coin No. 3 struck in 171 (142/1 B.C.) by Demetrius ii in Gaza shows that the town returned to his possession after having been for a short period in the hands of the Maccabees.

[1] e.g. *Antioch*, Pl. VIII, Nos. 216-232.

[2] e.g. *Antioch*, Pl. VIII, Nos. 198-215.

[3] Hill, *op. cit.*, p. lxvii.



SELEUCID COINS (*Scale* 1 : 1)

Antiochus vi *Antiochus vi* *Demetrius ii Nicator*

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

The Westminster Historical Atlas to the Bible. By G. E. WRIGHT and F. V. FILSON. Pp. 114. (The Westminster Press, Philadelphia, 1945.)

The editors of this atlas have produced much more than an atlas, and have given us a most valuable and up-to-date students' handbook. The work contains eighteen pages of maps, on each of thirteen of which one large map appears, while on each of the other five pages four maps are found. As the pages measure 15 in. by 11 in., it will be seen that most of the maps are drawn to a good scale. In their preparation the latest sources for locating ancient sites have been fully utilized, and for the magnificence of their production both the editors and the Westminster Press are to be warmly congratulated. To have produced so sumptuous a volume for the modest price of $3.50 is an achievement which kindles lively hopes for the further volumes of aids to the study of the Scriptures which the publishers have in preparation.

Each page of maps is accompanied by four pages of letterpress, printed in double columns in small but legible type, the chapters alternately preceding and following their accompanying plate. The superficial equality of the length of the chapters is achieved by means of the excellent illustrations that are distributed through the volume. There is an introductory chapter by Professor W. F. Albright, on " The Rediscovery of the Biblical World." This runs to six pages and is replete with information on modern archaeological methods and findings. It would be difficult to find anywhere so much factual material in so short a compass. In general Professor Wright has been responsible for the chapters dealing with the Old Testament, and Professor Filson for those dealing with the New, save that the division was made with Alexander and the editors have both shared in some of the chapters. Their work may be compared to a shorter and more up-to-date treatment of the theme of George Adam Smith's *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, but with the fullest utilization of the latest archaeological results. Everywhere the editors are well-informed and reliable, and they have spared no pains to make their handbook serviceable—even to the extent of supplying in brackets after the mention of every name included in the maps a reference to the appropriate map and its position thereon. Two pages are devoted to a chronological outline of Ancient History, and at the close of the volume there is an index to the maps, which is expanded to provide a topographical concordance to the Bible, and which also records the modern names of ancient sites. In addition there is a good index to the text.

Throughout the work Professor Albright's influence is seen. Probably no living scholar in our field has a comparable power to inspire his students to productive work. Professor Wright follows him in his reconstruction of the Conquest of Canaan, and in particular in his unwillingness to allow the taking of Jericho to Joshua. Occasionally his desire to harmonize is carried rather far, as when Judges i. is said to be not necessarily in conflict with Joshua x., if it is assumed that the original plan was Joshua's. It is not clear why it should be felt to be of importance thus to save for Joshua the conquest in principle of everything but Jericho, to which tradition connected his name so much more intimately and invariably. For since the destruction of Jericho is placed long before the time of Joshua, he cannot even be credited with the plan here. When once it is allowed that Joshua's name has attracted to itself conquests which were not his, a variant tradition would seem scarcely to call for harmonization.

In one matter Professor Wright does not follow his teacher. He prefers to place Ezra and Nehemiah in the reign of Artaxerxes I, with Ezra preceding Nehemiah, instead of reversing the order with so many scholars to-day. He thus adheres to the traditional date 458 B.C. for Ezra, and 445–444 B.C. for Nehemiah's visit to Jerusalem. Once Professor Wright appears to contradict himself. On p. 38 *a* he hazards the conjecture that the census lists of Num. i and xxvi are the misplaced records of David's census, referred to in 2 Sam. xxiv. The numbers involved, which " would mean a total of at least two or three million when women and children are included," are recognized to be much too great for the period of Moses, but are held to be what archaeological investigation would lead us to expect for the time of David. Yet on p. 57 *a* we read that " in the reign of David the population of Palestine was probably less than one million," and its maximum population is placed at less than two million.

These are but minor criticisms of a work to which the warmest welcome is to be accorded. Already 25,000 copies have been sold, and its amazingly low price will place it within the reach of all who desire to have so excellent a compendium at hand. The editors have laid all Biblical students under a heavy debt of gratitude, and it is much to be hoped that an adequate number of copies will be available in this country.

H. H. ROWLEY.

Israel : its Life and Culture, III–IV. By JOHS. PEDERSEN. pp. viii, 790. (Povl Branner, Copenhagen, and Humphrey Milford, London, 1940.)

Here, at last, is a book for which we have waited long. With the termination of the war, continental books are again beginning to reach this country. and none amongst them is more welcome to Old Testament scholars than Pedersen's great book. The first volume appeared in Danish in 1920 and in English in 1926, and it immediately secured wide recognition by its unusual approach and quality. Throughout the intervening years it has maintained its position as one of the outstandingly valuable books on the Old Testament. The second volume was published in Danish in 1934, and appeared in English in 1940, just after the Germans had overrun Denmark. It will fully maintain the reputation won by the first volume. As its title indicates, it is divided into two parts, of which the first deals with " Holiness and its Upholders," and the second with " The Renewal and the Source of Holiness." The first part thus deals mainly with charismatic persons, places and things, while the second part deals with the institutions and ideas in which the life and culture of Israel centred.

Each part consists of a number of studies, similar to those which stood in the former volume, in which the Biblical material relating to the theme is collected and examined. The care and fullness with which the material is marshalled is beyond all praise, and as a *vade mecum* to the contents of the Bible on these various themes the book will prove quite indispensable. Its wide range can best be indicated by the titles of the chapters in the two sections. In the first are treated: (1) War; (2) Chieftain and King; (3) the Prophet; (4) the Priest; (5) Holy Places and Holy Things; (6) Sacred and Profane. In the second part the themes are: (1) Sacrifice and its Effects; (2) Feasts and Sacred Customs; (3) Foreign Cults; (4) God and Man; (5) Yahweh and Baal; (6) Yahweh on Zion; (7) the Prophets' Fight for Yahweh; (8) Reforms, Exile and Restoration; (9) Yahweh and Israel. The notes are gathered at the end of the book, where they occupy eighty pages. Of these twenty-five are devoted to four long notes on (1) the Crossing of the Red Sea and the Paschal Legend; (2) the Israelite-Canaanite Autumn Festival; (3) the Principal Royal Feasts; (4) Recent Discussions of the Deuteronomic Problem. It will be seen that there is abundant fare for the reader, not alone in volume but in variety.

To traverse such a work in a review is quite impossible, and all that can be attempted is to single out a few points of major interest. Professor Pedersen sits very loosely by the once normal critical views of the compilation of the Pentateuch. In recent years these views have been much attacked from many sides, and especially from two directly opposed sides. The one side has aimed to carry the sources back to an earlier date, while the other has aimed to carry them down to a later date. Again some scholars have questioned the existence of some of the once generally acknowledged sources, while others have attempted to carry the analysis further, and isolate still further sources. Never has there been so much fluidity in Pentateuchal criticism. Yet while many scholars would agree that the days of the Graf-Kuenen-Wellhausen theory are numbered, agreement ends as soon as the question what is to succeed it is asked. Professor Pedersen is definitely on the side of the school that dates the documents late. It is not merely that he dates Deuteronomy late, though this indeed he does. At times he allows the possibility that D shaped his work in the seventh century B.C., though he does not deem it probable (p. 585 ; and *cf.* p. 752). But elsewhere he suggests that the vehemence with which Deuteronomy attacks the country sanctuaries reflects the bitterness of the returned exiles (p. 463). This would seem to throw Deuteronomy well into the post-exilic age.

Beyond this, however, Professor Pedersen ascribes material that is commonly thought to belong to earlier sources also to a late date. He says " All the main features of the stories about Abraham are coloured by the time after the regal period," and claims that they are occupied with problems which could not have arisen in pre-exilic days (p. 666). Perhaps more important than this is the tendency to disregard the analysis of what have been regarded as composite passages, and the statement that " it is doubtful whether we can accept the Yahwist and the Elohist in Genesis as two separate sources " (p. 727). All this cuts deeply at the roots of Pentateuchal criticism in its usual form. Professor Pedersen claims that his own quite different analyses in this work have " shown that the usual ' source hypothesis ' in the form given to it by Graf-Kuenen-Wellhausen cannot be regarded as the final solution but must undergo alterations " (p. 725). He refuses to separate Num. xvi f. into two sources, of which one dealt with Korah, and the other with Dathan and Abiram. He says the story is long-winded and badly told, but holds that " the existence of a separate story about Dathan and Abiram cannot be proved," and that the omission of Korah from Deut. xi, 6 and Psa. cvi, 17 does not establish it, since the omission there may be only accidental. Moreover, he holds that " there is no doubt that the whole narrative came into existence entirely in the post-exilic period " (p. 286).

The reviewer must confess that he is not convinced here. The Graf-Kuenen-Wellhausen view was established by a thoroughgoing study of the whole problem, and it is not likely to be overthrown by anything less thoroughgoing. What is wanted is not merely a series of attacks on particular points of that view, but the presentation of an alternative view of the whole question in a careful synthesis, that presents a coherent and consistent view of the development it envisages, and that shows how the literary and historical facts of the Old Testament fit into it. Welch came the nearest of any of the challengers to offering this, but even he produced no comprehensive introduction to the Pentateuch, comparable in solidity with those he sought to abolish. The Graf-Kuenen-Wellhausen view is not a dogma, but a scientific hypothesis, which can be surrendered without tears as soon as a more satisfactory one enters the field. But it must be a more satisfactory one, and not merely a new one.

The reviewer is therefore not persuaded to accept the critical foundations of Pedersen's work at all points. But he hastens to add that throughout by far the greater part of the book these questions do not arise, and the area of disagreement would not justify any modification of the recognition of this as one of the greatest of all modern works on the Old Testament, and one that no serious student can afford to ignore. No other writer has the same capacity to enter into the atmosphere of ancient Israel, and to penetrate the thought processes of its people. Professor Pedersen's learning is of the widest, and he makes the fullest use of archaeological material, including that from Ras Shamra, with which he is very familiar. His long note on the Israelite-Canaanite Autumn Festival assembles much material from this field, and from far beyond it, and establishes the combination of Canaanite and Israelite material that went into the amalgam of this festival as it appears in the Old Testament. In general he shows a sound unwillingness to resolve Old Testament institutions into mere reflections of foreign institutions, though he recognizes to the full the influence of Israel's *milieu* upon her institutions. In dealing with the question of Yahweh's enthronement at the annual festival, he observes that " the difficulty of a consistent reconstruction of the festival ritual lies on the one hand in the fact that the parallels from foreign peoples cannot quite be made to fit Israel, on the other hand in the circumstance that the Israelitish material, in the main hymns of praise, only in a few instances contain unambiguous allusions to a definite feast " (p. 709). Moreover, " we have no description of such a festival, and it is always difficult to establish what lies behind the allusions in the psalms. But Yahweh's occupation of the throne was not a regeneration of Yahweh, but a renewal of the covenant and the promise of power for Israel. Hence it is questionable whether we may assume that there was a real regeneration of the world in the cult " (p. 444). He also observes that " the texts do not show clearly what part the king played at this feast " (p. 441).

Professor Pedersen sees the first fifteen chapters of the book of Exodus, not as a historical account, but as a cultic legend, designed to be used ritually, and culminating in the hymn of triumph with which it closes. He deprecates any attempt to assess the extent of the historical substratum underlying the ritual, and again finds Canaanite and Israelite elements fused in the Passover festival, and fused so completely that it is impossible to separate them. He maintains that the paschal sacrifice is probably pre-Canaanite (by which he presumably means that it was observed in Israel before her entry into the land of Canaan), but that it is difficult to draw the line between what is Canaanite and what is Israelite, since the Israelites did not take over a dead system, but both appropriated the Canaanite sacrificial cult, and created new forms and new view-points from it (p. 317).

In these views, again, there are points with which not all readers will readily agree. But wise readers do not desire merely to find their own views reflected, and probably those who will wish most often to question will most hail this book as the work of a master, with rare stimulating quality and rare penetration of the mind and outlook of Israel.[1]

H. H. Rowley.

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[1] Since writing this review I learn that the entire stock of the publisher was destroyed by the Germans before capitulation, but that a photographic republication may be expected in 1946.

Sumerian Literary Texts from Nippur in the Museum of the Ancient Orient at Istanbul. By S. N. Kramer. (Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Vol. XXIII (1943–1944), New Haven, Conn.)

With this volume, containing copies of 167 broken tablets and fragments, Dr. Kramer has made what he modestly calls (p. 8) the first step to completing publication of the Sumerian religious and literary material found in the American excavations at Nippur. How heavy this task will be is revealed by the statistics he there gives, coupled with recollection of the volumes already devoted to *one quarter* only of the whole. This formidable prospect may prompt the question whether scholarship will continue to be best served by the traditional method of publishing volumes covering various compositions, even when, as here, they belong to one broad category. When, in a great excavation, a very large number of tablets has been obtained it might be well to revive the example of the Kuyunjik collection and publish first a catalogue, perhaps upon an improved plan in which classes of text (literary, business and legal, scientific, etc.) would occupy separate parts. In the present case of the literary texts from Nippur it might be suggested that Dr. Kramer's unsurpassed knowledge of this material, rather than being committed alone to so many " high piled books in charact'ry," might first bestow its guidance upon his own and possibly another generation, which may yet have to be called in to finish the work. This general reflection is only incidental to the present volume which displays the author's mastery of the material, facility of interpretation, and gift of clear statement, in a full introduction which is accompanied by a translation into Turkish. This description of the texts here presented cannot be summarized beyond repeating his own classification into epics, myths, hymns, lamentations, and " wisdom " compositions. All that need be added is, first, that he has carried still farther his distinction of the different poems, and second, that he has brilliantly succeeded in identifying many at first sight unpromising fragments of inscribed clay, as well as the more extensive texts of which his plates contain important examples. After this well-merited praise it is disagreeable to continue that full satisfaction ends with the introduction. The ninety-four plates of copies follow the tradition of attempting to reproduce faithfully the physical appearance, even the size (see p. 47), of the originals. Too often the result is distressing; the copies are small, crowded, excessively trying to the vision, not seldom (it may be suspected) almost as difficult to make out as the tablets themselves. Some readers will never be persuaded that the supposed objectivity of this style is a sufficient recompense for its inconveniences.

C. J. G.

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The Antiquaries Journal, July–October, 1945.
Bible Lands, October, 1945, January–April, 1946.
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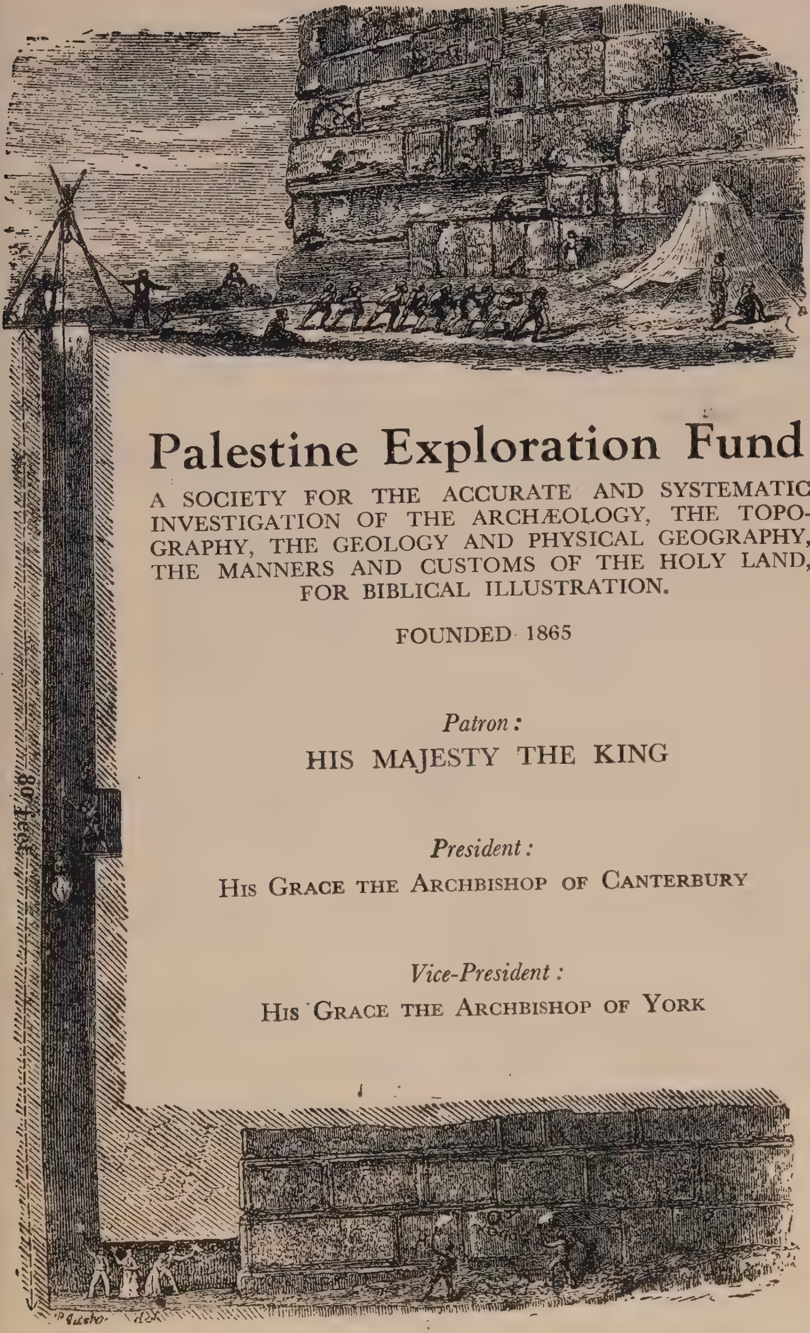
Religions, October, 1945, January and April, 1946.
Scottish Geographical Magazine, September and December, 1945.
Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, LXXV, Parts III and IV.
The Biblical Archaeologist, February and May, 1945.
Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, Vol. 30, December 1944.
Journal of Near Eastern Studies, Vol. IV, 4, Vol. V, 1.
Harvard Theological Review, October, 1945.
Jewish Quarterly Review, XXXVI, 1, 2 and 3.
American Journal of Archaeology, October–December, 1944, July–September, 1945.
American Journal of Philology, April, July and October, 1945, January, 1946.
ΝΕΑ ΣΙΩΝ, 1945.
Bulletin, American Schools of Oriental Research, Nos. 99 and 100, October and December, 1945.
Biblical Archaeologist, September and December, 1945.
Iraq Supplement. 1945. *Iraq Government Excavations at ʻAqar Qūf. Second Interim Report* 1943–44. By Tahu Baqir, M.A.

Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society, October, 1943, May, 1944, Vol. XI, 1945.
Vivre et Penser' Série, 1, 2 and 3.
Revue Biblique, January, 1946.
Le Monde Oriental, Revue des Études Orientales, Vol. XXXI, 1937, Vol. XXXII, 1938.
Journal of the American Oriental Society, October–December, 1945.
Jahrbericht, No. 7, 1940, No. 8, 1942.
Proceedings of the Royal Canadian Institute, Session, 1944–45.
Transactions, October, 1945.
Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute, Vol. LXXVI, 1944.
A Voyage Beyond the Seas (1346–1350). Fra Niccolò of Poggibonsi. English translation by Fr. T. Bellorini, O.F.M. and Fr. E. Hoade, O.F.M. *Publications of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum*, No. 2.
Ethiopi in Palestina: Storia della Comunita Etiopica di Gerusalemme, Vol. I. By Enrico Cerulli.
The Excavations at Dura Europos. Final Report IV. Part I, Fasc. 1. *The Green Glazed Pottery*, by Nicholas Toll. Part II, *The Textiles*, by R. Pfister and Louisa Bellinger.
Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1944.



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THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

NOTES AND NEWS

The Annual General Meeting of the Palestine Exploration Fund was held at 2, Hinde Street on June 28th, 1946, when the Chair was taken by J. W. Crowfoot, Esq., C.B.E., F.S.A., Chairman of the Executive Committee.

After announcing apologies for absence, the Hon. Secretary referred with great regret to the loss which the Society had sustained by the death of the Dean of Westminster, the Right Reverend Paul Fullcrand Delacour de Labillière, and of Sir Charles Marston whose interest in Biblical archæology and munificent support for such work were widely known.

The minutes of June 29th, 1945 were read and confirmed.

The Annual Report and Accounts for the year 1945 were unanimously adopted. The Officers and Executive were re-elected on the motion of Mr. Ernest Bristow. Messrs. Turquand, Youngs, McAuliffe & Co. were re-appointed Auditors for 1946.

Following the business proceedings, the Chairman gave a lecture on New light on Palestinian civilisation in the Hellenistic age.

The Meeting was well attended, and the lecture, the first to be held since the premises were restored to their normal condition, is, we hope, the forerunner of a series to be given during the forthcoming season.

A welcome sign of the slow return to normal conditions of scholarship and research is the re-appearance of many foreign publications in all their former amplitude. It is a special pleasure to salute the resurrection of the *Revue Biblique* after its long entombment. In the foreword to the new issue the editors explain the ingenious device by which the continued life of the *Revue* was preserved in a state of suspended animation under German occupation. In its revival the *Revue* fully maintains its high standards of scholarship and interest. Of special value is the long article by R. P. R. de Vaux on the Pre-history of Syria and Palestine.

Another welcome re-appearance from the occupied countries is the Dutch publication *Ex Oriente Lux* whose ample margins, large pages, and splendid typography raise a flicker of envy in the heart of an English editor still cribbed and cabined by paper restrictions. From Italy we signal the return of *Biblica*, also with undiminished standards of scholarship. Vol. 27 contains a new interpretation of the Song of Deborah by T. Piatti, and a short note on the Gezer Calendar by E. Zolli. The latter has apparently overlooked two fresh studies of that document by Profs. G. R. Driver in this Journal and W. F. Albright in BASOR.

We have had occasion more than once to recommend to the notice of teachers of the Bible that valuable little publication *The Biblical Archæologist*. Those who are interested may be glad to learn that it is now possible to subscribe to it in this country through Messrs. Blackwell, Broad St., Oxford. The annual subscription is the very small sum of 3s. It is also possible to obtain the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* through the same agency. The latest issue of the *Biblical Archæologist* is devoted to an excellent account of the Septuagint and its use in Textual Criticism. The February issue of this year contains a brilliant sketch of the history of Judah from Josiah to Alexander the Great by Professor W. F. Albright, who also contributes an article to the December 1945 issue of the BASOR on *The Chronology of the Divided Monarchy of Israel*. In the April issue of the same periodical for this year Dr. Maisler offers a learned and interesting discussion of the terms Canaan and Canaanite with a good deal of new inscriptional material.

In vol. XLIX, 4 of the *American Journal of Archæology* there is an article by Dr. Rhys Carpenter on *The Alphabet in Italy*. This may seem remote from the concerns of this Journal, but in fact it contains a valuable discussion of the relation between the Etruscan, the Greek, and the parent Phœnician alphabets. It also throws new and startling light on the fascinating problem of the origin of the Norse runic script.

The Journal of Near Eastern Studies may always be relied on to provide material for thought and stimulus to further study. In the April issue of this year Professor Ernest Wright subjects the old problem of Joshua 10 and Judges I to a fresh and searching analysis. The tenor of his conclusions is that the rejection of the account of the conquest in Joshua 10 has been too sweeping, and that, on the other hand, the historicity of the rather fragmentary account in Judges I has been too uncritically accepted. In the January number of the same year Professor Irwin has an interesting article on the poetic structure of the book of Job, and makes out a convincing case for the existence of " stanzas " in the poems of which that great book is composed.

In the now enlarged *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 66, No. 1, Professor C. C. Torrey discusses the view of Medo-Persian affairs presented by Jewish post-exilic writers. His point of view is well known, but some fresh arguments are advanced here in support of it. In spite of his uncompromising rejection of the genuineness of the Aramaic documents in Ezra there are still not a few scholars of repute who continue to accept them as authentic.

A little-known but important period of Palestinian history, that of the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D., is treated in a most illuminating way by Professor Lieberman in the April, 1946 issue of the *Jewish Quarterly Review*. There is presented a a survey of the Talmudic evidence for the position of the Jews in the Roman empire during those two centuries, and convincing proof is offered by the author that the Jews were not exposed to any persecution by the Roman authorities during that period. There is, however, abundant evidence for the existence of onerous forced public services and ruinous taxation. An interesting point brought out is that the eastern Christian churches were in some districts in the habit of celebrating Easter according to the Jewish official computation and announcement of the date of the Passover, and that the Council of Nicaea attempted, though without success, to do away with this Jewish practice. This article deserves the attention of historians, both of Palestine, and of the early Christian Church.

The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine, vol. XII, Nos. 3–4, contains much material of interest. Of special note is the publication by Mr. I. Ben-Dor of a Hebrew seal from Samaria bearing an Egyptian name. From the various characteristics of the seal Mr. Ben-Dor assigns it to the 8th century B.C. The name is clearly read as פטאס, meaning "Given by Isis". A comparison may be made with two Palestinian seals published by Dr. Reifenberg in PEQ, 1938, p. 115, and another by the same author in PEQ, 1939, p. 197. Mr. Ben-Dor suggests that the name פרע found on the latter seal belongs to the same class of names as that on the seal under discussion, and that other names of similar meaning occur in Hebrew, such as the hybrid Putiel, Potiphar, and others. He would accordingly interpret the name פרע as meaning "He who belongs to Ra".

Attention may be drawn to a valuable little book by Dr. Isidor Epstein called *The Jewish Way of Life*. The Jews today are subject to much unmerited misinterpretation and vilification. But they should be judged by their best and not by their worst. It is usually supposed that the Jewish religion is a dry and lifeless mass of ordinances, but no one who reads this little book could continue to think so. Here we have Judaism set forth as a Way of Life based on profound moral principles and animated by the deepest spirituality. It is written for Jews but it should be read by Christians.

We record with much pleasure the gift to the Fund by Professor John Garstang of the records of his well known excavations at Jericho which began in 1930 and concluded in 1936. They comprise the field notes and records, diaries, plans, drawings, registers of antiques, albums of photographs, negatives, etc., together with files and a large map press for their accommodation. Also a selection of original pottery specimens from the various levels. This gift, which marked the occasion of the seventieth birthday of this distinguished veteran of archæology in Palestine and other fields, is highly appreciated.

THE ḪABIRU, THE HEBREWS, AND THE ARABS

By A. Guillaume

I. The Hebrew Genealogical Tradition

There can be no doubt whatever that the name *Hebrew*, which is now synonymous with Israelite or Jew, once had a far wider connotation. Within the Old Testament the Israelites appear to have used the term only when speaking to foreigners *e.g.*, Gen. 40, 15 ; Jonah 1, 9 ; Ex. 5, 3. The term was also applied to them by foreigners, cf. Gen. 39, 14 ; 43, 32 ; Ex. 1, 15, 16 ; 2, 6, 7. (Possibly a different meaning attached to עבד עברי in Ex. 21, 2 which is discussed later.)

Thus " Hebrew " was similar to the term " British " by which we are known to foreigners but which we seldom use among ourselves ; or to take another example it is not unlike the term *Faranji* which we should have to accept in some parts of the Arabian world today whatever our private feelings.

The Israelites freely admitted that they were Hebrews and the biblical writers give a plain reason for doing so, a reason which incidentally has nothing to do with the noun עֵבֶר, the other side (sc. of the river). The genealogical tables in Genesis make it plain that the eponymous ancestor of the Hebrews was ʿEber, which it would be less confusing to write Heber, and in 10, 21 (J) call Shem " the father of all the children of ʿEber ".

The line runs : Shem-Arpachshad-(Lxx Qainan)-Shelah-ʿEber. The latter begat two sons, Peleg and Yoqtan, and the line is continued with the latter only until Gen. 11,10. It would seem from the names which can be identified that all the descendants of Yoqtan were Arabs in the south of the peninsula. The clearest examples (I give the Arabic names which are still in use today) are: Hadramaut, adjoining Aden ; Uzal, the old name of Sanā‘ ; ‘Ābil, a district in the Yemen; and Sheba, Sabā’, the capital of the once great Sabaean people. J sums up his account of these " Hebrews ", descendants of ‘Eber, by saying that they lived between Meshā’ (Lxx Μασσηε) on the way to Sephar, the hill country of the east. As this first name occurs in the form Massā’ in 25, 14 and was so read by Lxx here, it is probable that the author intended it to be understood that these children of ‘Eber inhabited Arabia from a district N.E. of Duma to the far south, and so occupied from north to south the whole of Arabia from the latitude of Suez to the Gulf of Aden. If Havilah is Huwaila in Bahrain, as it well may be, then these Yoqtanites were in possession of all Arabia except the Syrian desert and its fertile fringes east, west, and north.

The Israelites claimed to belong to the senior branch of the children of ‘Eber. The line runs: ‘Eber-Peleg-Re‘u-Serug-Nahor-Terah-Abram-Nahor-Haran. The first two in the line of " Hebrews" have not yet been identified. Saruj is a district in northern Mesopotamia about 40 miles west of Harran, with Nahiri in its neighbourhood. The last name, Haran (with soft h) is unidentified. The gap in the ethnic map of Arabia is all but closed. " Hebrews ", *i.e.*, children of ‘Eber, hold it from north to south and from east to west, except Canaan and Syria which Gen. 10 has peopled with the Hamites. Asshur and Aram, according to P (10, 22) were Semites, sons of Shem, but not Hebrews. But as Abram hailed from a centre of the Arameans the distinction cannot be pressed. Abraham was both Aramean and Hebrew, for the greater contained the less. Moreover, there is an older tradition which definitely brings the Arameans of northern Mesopotamia into the Hebrew fold. Aram, according to J (22, 20 ff.) was the grandson of Abraham's brother, and the latter was the father of the tribes inhabiting the desert adjoining Palestine. This passage, if it has historical value, would mark a great southward movement of Arameans into the deserts farther south. Abraham's brother is said to have begotten ‘Us and Būz who were tribes living along the fringe of Syria and Palestine from the Hauran down to Edom, while Hazo was invaded by Esarhaddon on his expedition to Egypt[1]. Tebah was one of the towns belonging to the king of Aram-Zoba near Damascus; and Ma'acah was a tribe living under the southern slopes of Mount Hermon. Lastly if the Chesed mentioned here stands for the eponymous ancestor of the Chaldaeans then they too, in the wider sense, are Hebrews. However, it is a little strange that Chaldaeans should appear among tribes inhabiting the west of the peninsula; but as we know nothing of four other eponymous worthies in this context the objection cannot be pressed.[2]

Looking back on the ground that has been covered we see that with the exception of Babylonia and Assyria the only land which was not peopled by "Hebrews" was Palestine itself. Now it is a remarkable fact that the settled lands of the east and part of the settled west should be excluded from the Hebrew confederacy while the equally settled and civilized land of Arabia Felix should be included in it. Before we attempt to discover the reason for this treatment we must keep in mind the ominous fact that the Canaanites, including the Phœnicians, are not even recognized as Semites, but are relegated to the Hamitic stock, and thus to another family of the human race altogether. This latter point has not escaped the notice of earlier scholars who suggested two reasons for it, namely religious hostility and the strong influence of Egypt upon Phœnicia. Probably we ought to add another significant fact: the Hebrews came into Palestine as conquerors claiming the land as their own, the gift of Yahweh their god. There was no substantial difference between the gods of the Arameans and the gods of the Canaanites: from a monotheist's point of view they were equally abominable. But if Israel were to establish a just claim to the land of others it would be easier if those who were to be dispossessed could be shown to be strangers to the commonwealth of Hebrews. It is true that the Israelites fought ferocious wars with their remote kinsmen, the Ammonites, Moabites, Edomites, and others ; but in these cases, especially the last, it was precisely the admitted fact that Esau was Jacob's brother (Mal. 1, 2) which brought additional bitterness to the struggle. The wars with these people were wars of aggression or defensive campaigns. Theoretically at least they were in a different category from the wars against the inhabitants of Canaan proper who were, or theoretically ought to have been, exterminated. In the interest of this theory, economic as much as religious in origin, the Canaanites could have no place in the Hebrew family. Historically they were not part of the Hebrew or Ḫabiru invaders ; but that is not genealogically significant, because the South Arabian tribes whom Israelite genealogists recognized as " Hebrews " can have had little or nothing to do with the Hebrew invasion of Palestine.

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[1] R. Campbell Thompson, *The Prism of Esarhaddon*, London, 1931, p. 22, l. 57.

[2] See further Job 1, 17 in *ICC.*, xxix f. and 17 f. The Chaldaeans came into Babylonia from some other area and so their "ancestor" may have been connected with Western Semites.

We come now to the question : Who were the Hebrews and what does the term connote ? I do not think that there is much doubt that the Hebrews were what we should call Arabs, using the term in its widest sense. They were to be found throughout the whole of the habitable land of the Arabian peninsula from north to south and from east to west excluding parts of the " fertile crescent ". They spoke different dialects of the same language. They were, or at all events within historic memory they had been, a nomadic wandering people ; and so the generic name Hebrew[1], the people who were always passing on, applied naturally to them. The Arabs of the south, though settled at their bases, were indomitable travellers and merchants, with trading centres in the Hijaz and in every oasis on their route which could provide forage and water for their camels[2]. Moreover, it was the south which in historic times sent forth its sons from its overpopulated lands to the deserts of the centre and the north. Their claim to be children of ‘Eber and nomads was equal to that of their brethren in the north. As to the Arameans of northern Mesopotamia mentioned in the Old Testament, they are often owners of flocks and herds and so forced to live a nomad or semi-nomad life.

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[1] On the form עִבְרִי see below.

[2] Probably the South Arabian trade did not start until after 1000. B.C. The story of the Queen of Sheba, if historical, is the earliest known reference to it,

Nor does the connexion between Hebrew and Arab stop there. Kinship with Arabs of the northern and central Hijaz, of the south, of the principal oases and with the nomads generally is claimed through Abraham’s concubine Qeturah, and his son Ishmael by Hagar the Egyptian (Gen. 25). All these peoples could be called “ Hebrews ” in the sense that they formed elements among “ the children of ‘Eber ” who was himself a member or part of a theoretically larger family of peoples grouped under Shem, Gen. 10,21, but never assembled under one name until the comparatively modern term “ Semite ” was coined. Whether in ancient days these peoples called themselves or were called by others “ Hebrews ” or Ḫabiru, none can assert without reservation and perhaps misgiving, but it is not unlikely that such was the case.

The Hebrew slave whose term of service is governed by Ex. 21, 2, ff[1]., may well have been a non-Israelite, and the Hebrews of I Sam. 13 and 14 quite clearly are.

II. THE ḪABIRU IN ARCHÆOLOGY

Professor Anton Jirku by collecting all the known references to the Ḫabiru[2] has done an immense service to those who would study the vexed question of the nationality and character of these people and their relation to the Hebrews of the Old Testament, and the following section of this paper is drawn for the most part from his brochure.

The oldest reports of the Ḫabiru show them to have been in southern Babylonia *c.* 2600. An inscription of Naram-Sin found at Boghaz Kewi in Hittite script speaks of SA.GAZ who held military posts on the frontier.

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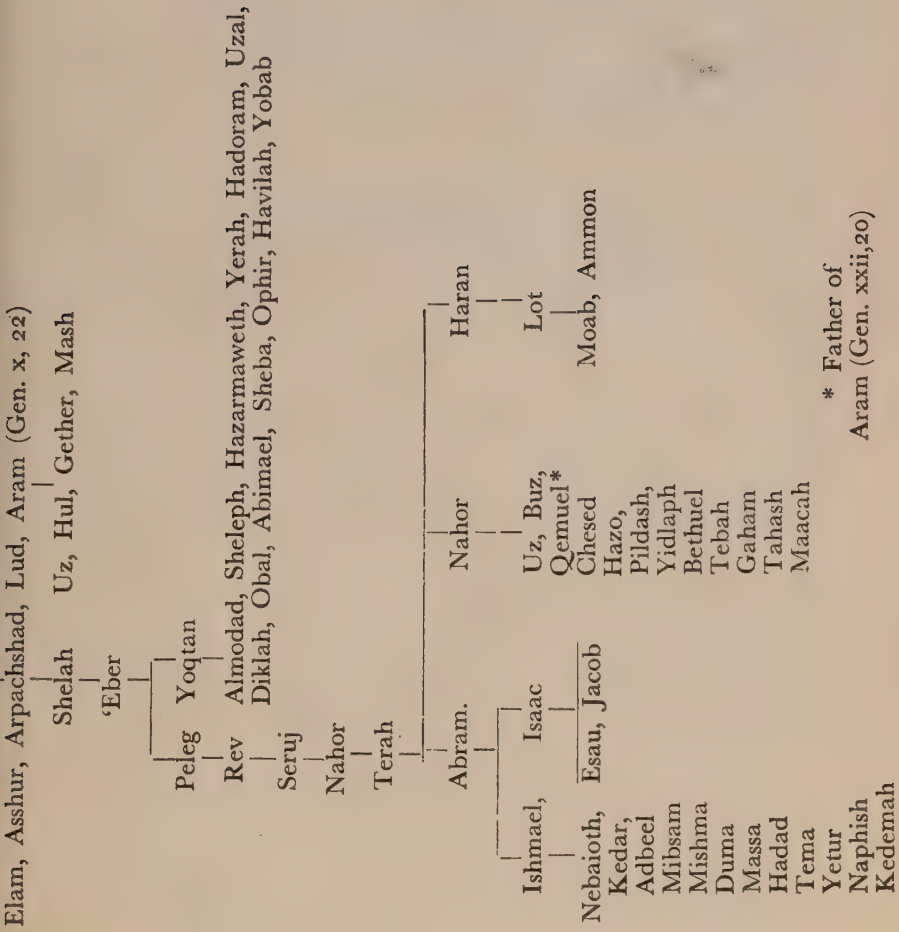
[1] Jirku’s suggestion is greatly strengthened by the discovery of the Kirkuk tablets.

[2] Up to the year 1924. *Die Wanderungen der Hebräer im dritten und zweiten vorchristlichen Jahrtausend* in *Der alte Orient*, 1924, pp. 3–32.


Elam, Asshur, Arpachshad, Lud, Aram (Gen. x, 22)
Shelah
Uz, Hul, Gether, Mash
'Eber
Peleg
Yoqtan
Rev
Almodad, Sheleph, Hazarmaweth, Yerah, Hadoram, Uzal, Diklah, Obal, Abimael, Sheba, Ophir, Havilah, Yobab
Seruj
Nahor
Terah
Abram.
Nahor
Haran
Ishmael,
Isaac
Uz, Buz, Qemuel* Chesed Hazo, Pildash, Yidlaph Bethuel Tebah Gaham Tahash Maacah
Lot
Nebaioth, Kedar, Adbeel Mibsam Mishma Duma Massa Hadad Tema Yetur Naphish Kedemah
Esau, Jacob
Moab, Ammon

* Father of Aram (Gen. xxii,20)

The Ḫabiru are next heard of in Upper Egypt from *c.* 200 to 1800. Potsherds inscribed with curses were until recently in the museum at Berlin ; and figures with execrations inscribed upon them closely resembling those in the Berlin museum are (or were until recently) in the museum at Brussels. The figures at Brussels contain names " identical in type with the Amorite names known from cuneiform tablets of the period 2000–1600. The elements ilu or el, god ; abu, father ; ‘ammu, kindred ; Hadad, storm god, occur again and again. The element ‘aprw (Apiru ?) which is found a number of times as an element in Canaanite names of the late Bronze Age appears in at least five names ; it would seem to belong to a Canaanite god ".[1]

At Mari (Tell el-Harīrī) on the middle Euphrates more than 20,000 tablets have recently been discovered and await publication. Charles F. Jean[2] cites a letter from Mašum to Zimrilim, king of Mari, saying that a certain Yapaḫ-Adad has occupied the town of Zallul with 2,000 Ḫapiri of the country. Another letter from the prince of Ňakhur to the same recipient complains that the ‘Apiru had gone by night and captured another town.[3] These tablets were written during the reign of Hammurabi and so can be fairly closely dated. Albright[4] says that the Ḫabiru are mentioned as *nomads* on these tablets, and Professor Dossin, who is deciphering the texts, in giving a preliminary account of them says that they throw a flood of light on the perpetual conflict between the nomad and the settler ; the nomad Sutu moved along the Euphrates in the region of Hit and Rapiqu, while in northern Mesopotamia and along the middle Euphrates the enemies of the townsmen were the *Ḫabiru*, Rabbu, Bene-Yamina, and Bene-Simal[5].

Next, *c.* 1800 in the time of Rim-Sin of Larsa, there is an entry " 4 garments for the officers of the Ḫa-bi-ri which bni-Adad took ”. Here the Ḫabiru appear to be soldiers. A letter of Hammurabi speaks of a commanding officer of he SA.GAZ people.

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[1] W. F. Albright in *BASOR*, No. 81, pp. 16–21.

[2] *Revue des Etudes Semitiques et Babyloniaca*, 1941, p. 92.

[3] *BASOR* 78, p. 29.

[4] *BASOR* 67, p. 28.

[5] *Syria*, xix, pp. 116f.

A list of stars contains the entry “ star of the SA.GAZ people ”[1] ; and tablets from Asshur mention a god Habiru.[2]

Some centuries later, in the Cashshite period, we find *ndividual* Ḫabiru mentioned : so-and-so Ḫabirai, the Ḫabiru. Thus, *c.* 1450 a Cashshite writes to Assyria complaining that his correspondent has conspired with Ḫarbi-Šipak the Ḫabirai. Harbi-Šipak is a Cashshite name.

It appears that Ḫalab was divided into four sections according to an entry on the Ras Shamra tablets, one of which is mentioned thus : *Alu Ḫalbi ameluti SAG.GAZ—Hlb ‘aprm.*[3]

About 1350 in a Hittite inscription of Mursil II found at Boghaz Kewi the prince of the Syrian land Barga is called Tette of the SAGAZ.[4] In these tablets an unnamed king says that he got together a force of 3,000 Ḫa-bi-ri-iš people for garrison work. Again, in an Accadian text a Hittite king mentions 600 SAGAZ people.[5]

So far as the god Ḫabiru is concerned Hittite texts cite him in treaties with the Mitanni, Nuḫašše, Amurru, Tešuptašša, and Ḫaiaša,[6] always with the plural ideogram *ilâni* ; but inasmuch as an Assyrian text used *ilu* in the singular and Hittite texts often put the plural *ilâni* before a single deity (*e.g.*, *ilâni Lulaḫi*) Jirku argues that one god is intended.

The Tell el-Amarna tablets deal with the reigns of Amenophis III and IV, 1411–1358, and perhaps their chief interest for biblical students has always been the mention of the Ḫabiru-SAGAZ. Since the records do not say that they attacked Syria and Palestine at the instigation, or with the help, of the Hittites it is natural to suppose that they were acting independently. They found an ally in Abd Aširta of Amurru and were aided by the population of several townships. Ribaddi of Byblos calls them " warriors from the lands of the Hittites ". The general picture which the TA tablets give us is of bands of marauders advancing along the northern sector of the fertile crescent from the Upper Euphrates, through Syria and Palestine, to the border of Egypt. They were at Byblos, Tyre, Sidon, Qadesh on the Orontes, Megiddo, Ayyalon and Sor'a ; and they found allies at Gezer, Shechem, and Lachish.

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[1] Weidner, *Handbuch der babylonischer Astronomie*, I, 6 ff.

[2] O. Schröder, *Keilschrifttexten aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*, No. 42, II, 9.

[3] J. W. Jack, *PEQ*, 1940, 95ff.

[4] *KBo.* III, 3 ; I, 7.

[5] King, *Hittite Texts*, pl. 32, 37. Obv. 3 ff.

[6] References in Jirku, *op. cit.* 18.

We have already seen how early the Ḫabiru had found their way into Egypt. Much later, during the reigns of Ramses II, III, and IV, there are records similar to those that have been found among old Hittite documents, of rations being allotted to Apriu workers side by side with native soldiers. In these contexts the Apriu are foreigners in the service of the Pharaohs.

Such is a brief summary of the evidence that was available in 1924 into which one or two more recent discoveries have been interjected. With the exception of the last entry the Ḫabiru appear always as soldiers, and if SAGAZ " murderers " and Ḫabbatu " robbers " are to be given full value, sometimes as predatory bandits. But more recently an important find of cuneiform texts throws an entirely new light on the standing of these people. The Kirkuk tablets show that in that district the Ḫabiru were not soldiers, but hired servants in the employ of the government, or even in private service. Julius Lewy[1] has shown that the former view that they were slaves, pure and simple, must be abandoned. The phrase *ramānšu uštēribšu* seems to mean " he caused himself to enter into the house of so-and-so as a servant (*ana wardūti*). As the contract between master and man provided that if the man left he had to provide a substitute, clearly the man was not a slave. In some cases Ḫabiru hired themselves out as interpreters. The Nuzi-Arrapḫa district had not been under the Mitannians for very long, and they were in need of men familiar with the Accadian language for use in official documents and records. That is probably the reason why most of the Ḫabiru in one group of texts bear Accadian names ; one of them actually came from Accad.

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[1] *Ḫabiru and Hebrews*, Hebrew Union College Annual, XIV, 1939, 587–623.

Lewy argues that as some of the interpreters are called Ḫabiru and others are not, we must draw the inference that the former were foreigners who had been living abroad, whereas the latter although non-Hurrians, were subjects of the Mitannian empire. He continues[1] : " This evidence clearly supports the thesis that the Accadian word Ḫābiru goes back to a west Semitic ʿābir and means ' he who crossed (the frontier) ' *i.e.*, ' the foreigner '." In his view Ḫābiru meant a special type of foreigner in the specific sense of a " foreign servant ". The possible meaning of the word Ḫabiru will be discussed later, but here it is pertinent to remark that " foreign servant " is not a very natural way of referring to mercenaries, and it would be difficult if not impossible to prove that the Ḫabiru were always in the employ of others. " Foreigner " might be a possible, though hardly a natural, name for a particular people to bear ; but " foreign servant " seems to give too narrow a meaning.

However, to return to the status of the Ḫabiru. There were actual cases of slavery : certain women became bondmaids (*ana amūti*)and if they left their master they incurred the risk of losing their eyes. Thus there were two classes of servants : those who could, and those who could not, leave their master's service. Lewy draws attention to the similar laws of Ex. 21, 2 ff. and Deut. 15, 12 ff. where the עבד עברי can leave his master after six years' service, but if he elects to stay he becomes a slave for ever. Thus he writes " עברי was an appellative denoting a member of a particular class of the population before it became a gentilic denoting an Israelite or a Jew ".[2] To some this seems to be putting the cart before the horse. They hold that it is inherently improbable that an appellative would become a gentilic : indeed in the case of the " Chaldaeans " the reverse

[1] p. 604.
[2] p. 609.

is the case; originally a gentilic it became a term for magicians. Moreover the argument is not strengthened as he supposes by the TA letters which refer to the Ḫabiru as "lost dogs". Even if this term is parallel, or in juxtaposition, with *ardu*, servant, and some Ḫabiru can be shown to be mercenaries who abandoned the service of their paymasters, this cannot prove that Ḫabiru is an appellative. There were other Ḫabiru who remained loyal to their Egyptian masters, or rather to the local rulers who were their vassal princes, just as the Ḫabiru farther north served their Hittite masters. The facts are not in dispute. There were Hebrews in the employ of the Philistines, and Hebrews who fought against them: but I see no ground for arguing that the word Ḫabiru must mean "foreign servant".

These Ḫabiru and Hebrews were behaving exactly as the Arab legionaries in the service of the Byzantine and Persian governments behaved in the seventh century of our era. They remained loyal while they were paid and rationed; but when they were joined by their countrymen from the deserts of Arabia, they threw in their lot with them. It is a significant fact that there is no mention of *Arabs*[1] in the attacks of the Ḫabiru on the Pharaohs' Syrian possessions. But it is impossible that Arabs should have taken no part in looting and raiding the countryside. Therefore the inference that at that time the Arabs were known by another name seems unavoidable. For thousands of years whenever the central government of a country bordering the Arabian deserts has been unable to protect its people they have fallen a prey to the attacks and robberies of the Bedouin.

Yet this same people in the 8th century A.D. after a few years of town life showed themselves fairly able administrators and artisans, and until they were swamped by too many recruits from the deserts and weakened by foreign and civil wars, they were able to preserve and even in some respects to enlarge their heritage of culture, as did the Ḫabiru—Hebrews in Palestine.

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[1] The Sutû, nomads of the western desert, are mentioned more than once, *e.g.*, Kn. 195, 318, etc.

I do not propose to go into the much-debated question as to the relation between the Ḫabiru and the Hebrews or indeed the question as to whether there is any relation at all.[1] To me the evidence seems to show that they were a Semitic people despite their apparently incurable habit of adopting names popular in the countries in which they were domiciled. But this fact has no significance. At Palmyra Roman names were freely adopted by the local Arabs, though they generally retained the native name as well, and the same tendency to a lesser degree is to be seen in the Nabataean and Aramaic inscriptions collected by the late G. A. Cooke.

When the potsherds from Egypt dating from *c.* 2000 have been deciphered and published it will, one hopes, be possible to speak with more confidence; but the common Semitic names for god, father, and kindred, seem to place their Semitic origin beyond doubt. The only local allusion is to the god Hadad. This would seem to brand these Ḫabiru[2], if they were Ḫabiru, at least as North Semitic, as the worship of Hadad, though common in Mesopotamia and Syria, is not to be traced in South Arabia.

III. THE ROOT ערב AND ITS RELATION TO עבר.

The Oxford Hebrew Lexicon[3] assigns no less than six different verbal meanings to this root, though it indicates that two of them begin with a *ghayin* and so are only grouped under *'ayin* by a necessary accident. Thus:

1. *Mix*, from New Hebrew, comparing ܥܪܒ (rarely in derived forms).

2. *Take or give in pledge*, *exchange*, with parallels from Phoenician, Syriac, Old Aramaic and New Hebrew.

3. *Sweet*, *pleasing*, New Hebrew the only parallel. To this we should add Arabic and Syriac parallels, as below.

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[1] Among those who uphold the connexion are: Conder, Zimmern, Winckler, Knudtzon, Bezold, Ed. Meyer, Guthe, Nöldeke, Burney, Kittel, Böhl and the great majority of scholars at the present time.

[2] More light is needed on this point.

[3] Cited as *BDB*.

4. A supposed root meaning *arid*, embracing the nouns עֲרָב steppe, Is. 21, 13 only; עֲרָבִי steppe-dweller; עֲרָב steppe-dwellers of North Arabia; עַרְבִּי Arabian; עֲרָבָה desert-plain.

5. *Evening*, غرب.

6. *Raven*, cf. غُراب and עֲרָבָה poplar cf. غَرَب.

I propose to examine these significations to see whether they exist in their own right or whether they have a borrowed meaning, omitting (5) and (6) which belong to a root غرب.

(1) It seems probable that the meaning " mix " owes something to עבר. Three nouns are gathered into its orbit, namely עֵרֶב " mixed company ", עֵרֶב " woof ", and עָרֹב " swarm ". The second is the clearest and plainest example of metathesis, for the woof is composed of threads that *cross* (עבר) the weft. The third meaning " swarm " (of flies) could be derived as *BDB* says from a *mixture* resulting from incessant involved motion; but it could equally well owe its origin to a mass of creatures which were continually passing (עבר) from place to place, both as units and as a conglomerate. A similar explanation would cover the mixed body of people, the עֵרֶב who attached themselves to the Israelite exodus.

(2) ערב " pledge " is found in Arabic in the form عربن with the nominal forms عربون عَربون وعُربان which are clearly borrowed from Hebrew and Aramaic עֵרָבוֹן and עַרְבוֹנָא. The temptation to explain the transaction as something which *passes* from hand to hand or from person to person must be resisted, because in old Assyrian law a debtor had to *enter* (*erā/ē/ū/bu*) the house of his creditor if he could not pay his debt, or send his property to his creditor's house; and from the verb a noun *erubadum* " pledge ", (lit. " entered thing ") was coined.[1] But as *erēbu* belongs to the root *gh-r-b* it has no place here.

[1] See Driver and Miles, *The Assyrian Laws*, 144, n. 1.

(3) The meaning " pleasing " can also be referred to עבר if we compare the Arabic عَبْرٌ لكل عمل " fit for any task ", and the Syriac ܡܬ̈ܠܐ ܒܡܕܡ ܡܩ̈ܢܝܢ ܘܒܡܕܡ ܠܐ ܕܡ̈ܝܢ " similitudes are useful in some respects : in others they are not fitting ".

(4) Items (5) and (6) having been excluded we are left only with the conjectural root meaning " arid " to which Ethiopic lends a dubious support. But before dealing with that we should add the meaning " offer sacrifice " in Sabaean to which Prof. Driver has drawn our attention.[1] But this again is surely but another form of עבר cf. Heb. העביר in Je, 32,35 ; Ez. 23, 27 ; and especially Ex. 13, 12 ; והעברתָּ כל פטר רחם ליהוה.

As to the supposed meaning " arid ", it is more than strange that the Arabs, who inhabit an arid and sterile area of the earth's surface should know nothing of this meaning, particularly when we remember (*a*) that they take pride in their desert origin with its supposed guarantee of the purity of their race and language ; and (*b*) that it is precisely this name, Arab, which marks them out from the races of mankind. The Arabs are known to have used the name in the sixth century A.D., and of course in Muslim literature it is a commonplace. But here again there is a connexion with עבר, for عرب and اعرب mean " to explain ", and " to speak Arabic correctly ", while عبّر is also used to convey the first of these meanings.

So far as the *meaning* of the word Arab is concerned the point at issue is whether we are to agree with the eminent Nöldeke[2] that " the name Arab seems originally to have meant nothing more than ' desert ', hence ' people of the desert ", and " that the plural form *A'rāb* ' Bedouins ' is presumably derived from the primitive sense ' desert ' " ; or whether we are to give value to his statement that the name Arab in the Sabaean inscription of Abraha, the

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[1] *JTS.*, 1938, p. 58.
[2] *Enc. Bib.* art. *Arabia.*

Abyssinian prince of the Yemen (A.D. 543) " seems to signify the nomads ". In other words have we justification for assuming the existence of a word Arab meaning desert, because most of the population of Arabia are Bedouin and live in " the desert ", or may we reject this hypothesis and say that Arab meant nomads, and that when the Quran writes *a'rāb* it (naturally) means " nomads " and not unnaturally " deserts " ? If we may take the latter course, then this fourth root joins the other three and becomes a by-form which has arisen by a change in the order of its consonants from עבר.

At a later stage I shall venture to put forward as a hypothesis the suggestion that somewhere about the beginning of the first millennium B.C. the name Ḫabiru or Hebrew gradually gave way before the form 'Arabu. It will have become obvious that there is an extraordinarily close connexion between the two roots,[1] amounting in some cases to identity ; and I hope that it is not fanciful to see in one Hebrew word the beginning of this Arab invasion. I mean the word עֲרָבָה to which *BDB* assigns the meaning " desert-plain ", " steppe " without a vestige of philological foundation. The earliest occurrence of the word, in Is. 23, 24, seems to apply to high ground west of the Dead Sea on the edge of the desert. The phrase " in the wilderness of Mā'ōn in the 'Arābāh on the south of the Yeshīmōn " has given some perplexity to commentators who narrow the meaning of the 'Arābāh to the floor of the Jordan valley. It is true that geographically 'Arābāh refers to the deep depression through which the Jordan flows, so that the Dead Sea is called ים הערבה in Jos. 3, 16. The Arabs have a better name for the northern section, calling it الغَوْر " the hollow ", while they retain the ancient name العَرَبَة

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[1] To the examples given add عرَّب الثورُ البَقَرَةَ and שׁוֹרוֹ עִבֵּר. In the R.S. tablets ערפות occurs with the meaning *clouds* and this is probably the meaning of עֲרָבוֹת in ψ 68, 5. In that case it is another example of metathesis for we find in Tabari II, 1197, l. 3 the words فا كانت إلّا عُبَّرًا. " They were nothing but *passing clouds*."

for the southern section below the Dead Sea. The term is also used to cover the western half of the Jordan valley 2 S. 2, 29 and elsewhere. In 2 S. 4, 7 the east of the Jordan valley is indicated. To the Deuteronomist it seems to have meant the eastern half of the Jordan valley (3, 17, 4, 29) and possibly the whole of it (1,7); while 2, 8 applies to the district south of the Dead Sea. The priestly writer who uses the word in the plural applies it to districts both east and west of Jordan. Elsewhere it seems to stand for desert country in general.

Philologically the problem is to discover why a term which applied to the deep depression of the Jordan valley could also be used for the high ground on either side of it and also apply to desert land in different areas. In Arabic you can use the second form of the verb *'araba* to describe the cutting or pruning of trees, or making a cut in the bottom of a horse's hoof; the verb can also be used of a wound reopening or of a scar remaining in the flesh. But much good will would be needed to magnify a small cut or incision in the body so as to cover the gigantic fault in the earth's crust through which the Jordan flows! Arabic has a noun عَرَبَةٌ which means "a swift river", but though the Jordan flows swiftly in its upper reaches it can hardly be called a rapid river. Therefore in default of a better and more convincing explanation I am inclined to think that this word עֲרָבָה owes its origin, like so many of its sisters, to עבר and that it got its name from the broad depression which *passed* right through the land of Israel. And because one had to cross this depression to get in touch with Israel on the other side, the high approaches to it on either side also came to be called ערבות in the sense of crossing or crossings. Similarly the deserts of southern Judah, Sinai, and other areas, were but crossing-places for the inhabitants of Canaan. Geographically they might be steppes or deserts or plateaus, but from the point of view of the Israelite they were but tracts which led to Palestine.

Probably because of the marked tendency of this root to change the order of its letters and because the ordinary connotaton of עבר was somewhat stretched, ערב maintained its position as against עבר, which came to be used of a *definite* place of passage. But in the earliest historical books there is, as it were, a protest against the assumption that ערבה is not as good a word as עברה ; for in 2 S. 15, 28 the Kethib has בעברות המדבר while the Qere, supported by some Versions read בערבות ה' ; and again in 17, 16 some MSS prefer the latter reading.

IV. The Form and Meaning of the Word Ḫabiru

Philologically the word Ḫabiru is beset with difficulties. (1) First: Is it an active participle or is it an adjective? (2) Is it a gentilic or is it an appellative? (3) If it is not a gentilic, what does it mean?

Before attempting to deal with these three points it would be advisable that something should be said about the philological objections which some scholars have lodged against any identification of Ḫabiru and Hebrew. They gather round the first two letters, h and b.

(i) Dhorme's attempt to show that the true form of the name is Ḫabiru and not ‘Abiru must be rejected because it severs all connexion between the Ḫabiru of cuneiform and the ‘piru of Egyptian documents. Prof. Gunn writes[1]: “No case is known in which the Egyptians wrote a foreign h or ḫ by ‘.” The evidence for ‘ written as ḫ in the TA letters and in Amorite words in cuneiform was long ago collected by Burney.[2]

(ii) More recently it has been claimed that the true form of the name is Ḫapiru (or even ‘Apiru, comparing ‘Epher in Gen. 25, 4). It has long been known that the Egyptians wrote the name with a *p*, and when the form ‘prm was found on the RS tablets[3] some scholars[4] affirmed that this was the true form. But philologically the point has no significance. Prof. Gunn[1] quotes many examples of Egyptian *p* = Sem. *b*, *e.g.*, *harp* = *harb*. Prof. Rowley[2] cites examples in the RS tablets for the same phenomenon, notably *bšn* = Heb. *pethen*, and conversely *nbt* = Heb. *nopheth*. More will be said on this under (2) below, but meanwhile I cannot refrain from quoting the wise words of Prof. Rowley: " The view that the Ḫabiru (or Ḫapiru) of the Amarna letters represent one of the waves of Hebrew or Israelite immigrants does not rest merely on this equation nor would it fall if the equation were ruled out ". It must be admitted that the objection cannot be ruled out of court however few the plaintiffs may be.

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[1] *The Annual of the Am. Schools of Or. Research*, xiii, 1933, p. 38.

[2] *Judges*, pp. lxxiv, v.

[3] *v.s.*

[4] Notably E. G. Kraeling in *AJSL*, 58 p. 237.

To return to the questions outlined above:

1. (*a*) It cannot be affirmed that the form is necessarily participial with a long vowel in the first syllable to be read Ḫābiru (with Lewy). A spelling *Ḫā-a-bi-ru* does not demand a phonetic Ḫābiru, nor does the absence of the second *a* necessarily imply that the vowel is short. It is worth noticing, however, that the spelling Ḫa-bi-ru without the second *a* is more common.[3] Thus we need not attach much weight to the argument that the form *must* be participial. Nevertheless it is a possibility that must be reckoned with. Lewy postulates a West Semitic **ʿābir* meaning " he who crossed (the frontier) *i.e.*, " the foreigner ". But such a form ought to be the active participle in Hebrew, and I do not think that a form עְבִרִי from עֵבֶר can be paralleled in Hebrew, whereas there would be no difficulty if we assumed an original ʿabir with a short vowel.

(*b*) If it is an adjective it presupposes as Landsberger says a [Hebrew] form *ʿaber* which he dubs *kaum möglich*. Now though it is true that *ʿabara* in Arabic is both transitive and intransitive and the form *ʿabira* has another meaning altogether, yet there are many verbs like *ʿasara* which forms its imperfect with *i* or *u* and has an adjective ʿ*asirun* ; *e.g.*, from ʿ*amila* we get ʿ*amilun* " skilled workman ". Moreover, it is hardly possible to maintain that vowels were fixed immutably in ancient days since Arabic can apply to the camel, the nomad *par excellence*, this same adjective ʿabirun using all three vowels *a*, *i*, and *u* with complete indifference : عَُِبْر سَفَرٍ. Therefore we cannot dismiss the possibility that there was once an adjective ʿ*abirun* or ʿaber which meant a nomad.[1] On the whole probability seems to lie with the adjectival form ʿ*abirun* ; but one cannot be dogmatic about it. At all events if connexion between Ḫabiru and Hebrew is to be retained this form seems to be demanded.

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[1] *loc. sit.*

[2] *PEQ*, 1940, p. 92, and see further the late Dr. Jack's article, *ib.* pp. 99, ff.

[3] *ha-a-bi-ri-ia-aš* in King, *Hittite T.* Nr. 6, vs. 18 quoted by Landsberger, *op. cit.*, p. 321, n. 2.

2. Controversy has waxed hot over the question as to whether Ḫabiru is a gentilic or an appellative. Analogy would seem to suggest the former. Professor Sidney Smith cites[2] Aramu, Ḫabiru, ʿAri (?u or a?) bu, Nabatu and Shalamu. And since Aramu is derived from Aram, Aššuraiu from Aššur and so on, it is possible that Ḫabiru derives from a place called Ḫabir. But, to say the least, it is strange that no such place is known. However it would be unwise to deny that such a place or district may once have existed. Professor Smith,[3] whose guarded language indicates no more than a possibility draws attention to an Aramaic document of the 7th century which " mentions a town Hafiru in the extreme south of Babylonia in the desert ; and Yāqūt describes the place as lying west of Babylonia ".

However, as it is my opinion that the Ḫabiru were Arabs it is fair to insist that very few old Arabian tribes are named after districts, and if the Ḫabiru came from no definite area foreigners could not give them a local gentilic, Arabia as yet having no name. Eponymous ancestors, gods, (totem ?)—animals, have bequeathed names to them, but few tribal names have any geographical significance. Here, in view of the Hebrew tradition that asserts that the sons of Heber populated all Arabia it is worth while quoting Robertson Smith[1] whose work on Arab tribes is still a classic : " It may be maintained that the groups which formed social and political units at the time of Muhammad were really, as the system supposes, groups of kinsmen descended in the male line from a common ancestor ".

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[1] Albright, *JAOS*, 48, p. 184 holds this view.

[2] *Schweich Lectures*, 1940, p. 137.

[3] *Early History of Assyria*, London, 1928 p. 193. I have examined the photograph in Lidzbarski's *Aram. Urkunden*, Leipzig, 1921, and find that the reading בחפירו is only a guess. In the photograph neither the *r* nor the *w* is legible, and the editor himself says that the *r* is *nicht völlig sicher*. He merely claims that the name as a whole is fairly probable. The town mentioned in Yāqūt II, 296, 18 is written حفير and if the Ḫabiru were ever in Egypt the men of Hafir cannot be the ʿapriu of the Egyptian records, see (i) above.

3. If Ḫabiru is both an appellative and a gentilic, as I think it is, there is a good parallel in the Arabian tribe of the Khuzāʿa, " the separated ones ". They are said to have been given this name when they broke away from a larger unit in one of the great migrations from the Yemen. The ʿAbiru were " the wandering ones " or nomads. After all is there any *necessary* opposition between a gentilic and an appellative if the latter is chosen by a people to express its fundamental habits or characteristic mode of life ?

The Ḫabiru with whom the Babylonians and Hittites, Egyptians, and Canaanites had to do were men of no one district ; they were not subject to one native governor with whom their masters or allies could negotiate. They were freelances willing to co-operate when pay and service were attractive, and ready to strike out for themselves when opportunity offered. They were not citizens of any recognized state and even retained their name of nomad after it had ceased to have its natural meaning following a long sojourn in a settled land.

In the case of a people with no definite country we can hardly press the distinction between gentilic and attribute. The nomad life bestowed the appellative ; but the ancient geographers rather than the Ḫabiru are to blame for failing to provide their country with a name. Arabia had not yet received its name ; and in fact did not receive it until the Ḫabiru had relinquished theirs.

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[1] *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, 1903, p. 12.

A strange fact which earlier scholars noted,[1] but so far as I know made no attempt to explain, is that Arabs are not mentioned by name until the year 853 B.C., when, at the battle of Qarqar Shalmaneser III engaged a coalition of small western states in which "Ahab the Israelite" and "Jindibu the Arabian" figure, the latter appropriately contributing a thousand camels. From this time onwards references to Arabs in the Accadian annals are fairly common: thus a certain Zabibe, queen of (the land of) the Arabs (matu A-ri-bi) is mentioned by Tiglath-Pileser III, 738 B.C.; the forms māt Arabu and Arubu are also met with; Sennacherib mentions Urbi more than once.

Thus, though not decisively, cuneiform supports an ancient pronunciation Aribs, as against Arabs, and shows us that one of the early forms of the name was on the same pattern as that of the Ḫabiru.

With the various local denotations of the term Arab we are not concerned. No ancient king was ever concerned with the Arabs as a whole and Arabs and Arabia had a circumscribed meaning until the Greeks first assigned the term Arabia to the whole peninsula. In the Quran the term Arab probably means Bedouin, and this would seem to be the meaning in some, if not all cases, where Arabs are mentioned on the South Arabian inscriptions as ערבן with postpositive article, ערב and אערב. With this we may compare Sargon's reference to Shamsi, queen of the Arabs, as against It'amara the Sabaean.

Another unexplained fact is that the genealogical and ethnological tables in Genesis make no mention of Arabs as such. Nöldeke regarded this omission as a "very significant indication of their antiquity".[2] He goes on to point out that "the name of the Arabs came into use among the Hebrews at a time when the old names Ishmael, Midian, etc., were disappearing from ordinary speech". But this can hardly be an *explanation* of an admitted fact, for Arabs in the north could certainly not be called Midianites, nor would Ishmaelites be an appropriate name. Outside the Old Testament the name Ishmael is only found in South Arabia.[1] Thus, if we are right in believing that the Ḫabiru were nomad Arabs, we have ground for conjecturing that the older name ʿAbiru was slowly changed to ʿAribu, and lastly to ʿArabu, the name which Arabs have borne ever since. There is no trace of the form ʿAbiru in the south, but no evidence as old as that in the north is as yet forthcoming ; and to set against that we have the equivalence of Sabaean ערב and Hebrew העביר in the sense of offering sacrifice.

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[1] Notably Nöldeke and Margoliouth.

[2] *loc. sit.*

To sum up. In support of this hypothesis—and without some more definite proof from an archaeological source a hypothesis it must remain—three lines of evidence converge: genealogical, archaeological, and philological. The sons of ʿEber peopled the whole of the Arabian peninsula ; the Ḫabiru appear in northern and southern regions in the east and west of a line drawn from Egypt to southern Babylonia where, so far as we know, Arabs have always roamed at large and with whom the early Accadians in the person of the legendary figure Enkidu were familiar ; and lastly a consideration of the form of the word *ʿabar* in its various derivatives shows us that it was particularly prone to metathesis.

Taken together these indications create a probability, if no more, that Ḫabiru, Hebrew, and Arab, are interrelated much more closely than might otherwise be supposed.

(*Read to the Society of Old Testament Study in January*, 1946).

I am deepy indebted to Prof. Sidney Smith for his help in the vast bibliography of this subject.

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[1] The form *Ismāʿīl*, used in Arabic since Quranic times is, of course, a foreign name.

JERUSALEM IN THE LACHISH OSTRACA

By D. Winton Thomas

In this article the general subject to be treated is Jerusalem in the Lachish ostraca. It will be considered under three heads—first, the proposed reading ירשלם in Ostracon VI, l. 10 ; secondly, the use of העיר in Ostracon IV, l. 7 to designate Jerusalem ; and lastly, communication by letter between Jerusalem and Lachish[1].

THE PROPOSED READING ירשלם IN OSTRACON VI, L. 10

T^2, reading in Ostracon VI, l. 10 the letters י—של--ה, felt tempted to read ירשלם, but he hesitated to do so, preferring the—to him—more plausible restoration טבשלם, a proper name which occurs in I, l. 2, and which is restored by T^1 also in XVIII, l. 1. In T^2, however, a quite different view is expressed. The possibility that ירשלם is to be read is indeed mentioned, but is rejected in favour of a reading which introduces once more the name of Uriah, whom Torczyner has all along believed to be the prophet mentioned in III, l. 20—a belief which is now altogether discredited. The reading ירשלם, which Torczyner has thus finally rejected, is, however, favoured by Ginsberg[1] and is accepted by Albright.[2] The question of its correctness or otherwise deserves, therefore, further consideration.

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[1] For the question of the identification of Tell ed-Duweir, where the ostraca were found, with the ancient city of Lachish, see the present writer in *P.E.Q.*, 1946, p. 41 ; further, K. Elliger *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Pal.-Vereins*, 1934, pp. 104 ff. For convenience the identification is assumed in this article.

[2] H. Torczyner, *The Lachish Letters*, 1938, p. 115, 117, 203.

[3] H. Torczyner, תעודות לכיש, Jerusalem, 1940, p. 138, 165. Other abbreviations employed in this article are as follows : A. — W. F. Albright and Gi — H. L. Ginsberg, both in *Bull. of Amer. Schools of Or. Res.* ; E^1 — K. Elliger, Die Ostraka von Lachis, in *Palästinajahrbuch*, 1938, pp. 30 ff ; E^2 — the same writer's Zu Text u. Schrift der Ostraka von Lachis, in *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Pal. Vereins*, 1939 pp. 63 ff ; B—S. Birnbaum, the Lachish Ostraca II, in *P.E.Q.*, 1939 pp. 91 ff. ; V—R. de Vaux, Les Ostraka de Lâchis, in *Rev. Biblique*, 1939, pp. 181 ff ; Va —A. Vaccari, Le Lettere di Lachis, in *Biblica*, Vol. 20, 1939, pp. 180 ff. ; Ve — B. M. Vellas, *Τὰ νέα ὄστρακα τῆς Λάχης* Athens, 1939.

It may be observed in the first place that the writing on the sherd at this point is very indistinct, so much so that some scholars, for example Vaccari[3] and Vellas[4], do not attempt anything in this line after the first word בזאת. Traces of the letters ש and ל can, however, quite definitely be discerned on the photograph[5]. With regard to the letter מ, Elliger[6] and de Vaux[7] agree with Ginsberg and Albright in reading it. Hempel[8], however, does not regard it as certain, while Birnbaum[9] reads for it a כ. As between מ and כ, it is not, it must be confessed, easy to decide. On the one hand, the traces of the letter in question bear some resemblance to the כ in מלך in l. 4. On the other hand, the writing of מ on this sherd exhibits some variation—compare the מ in שלם in l. 2 with the מ in טבם in l. 6. While a slight preference may perhaps be expressed in favour of כ, the traces are so indistinct that the possibility that a מ is to be read should be allowed. As for the letter ר, which is restored by Ginsberg and Albright, no one has yet claimed to find it on the sherd. The י, which is read by Ginsberg and Albright, appears in Harding's hand-copy[10], and is read too by de Vaux[11]. On the other hand,

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[1] 71 (1938), p. 27.
[2] 73 (1939), p. 20 ; 82 (1941), p. 22.
[3] Va., p. 196.
[4] Ve., p. 23.
[5] T¹, p. 102.
[6] E², p. 78; cp. Harding's hand-copy, T¹, p. 103.
[7] V., p. 197 ; but see p. 199.
[8] H., p. 135.
[9] B., p. 104.
[10] T¹, p. 103.
[11] V., p. 197.

Birnbaum[1], Elliger[2] and Hempel[3] leave the space blank. The present writer is able to see on the photograph what might be a very indistinct trace of a letter, but he is unable to say what the letter might be. Due weight should, however, be attached to the reading of those who, like Harding and de Vaux, have worked from the original sherds, and the possibility that a י is to be read should not be ruled out altogether. The reading we thus arrive at may, therefore, be represented as follows—[י]—של$\genfrac{}{}{0pt}{}{\text{ב}}{\text{מ}}$. With two doubtful letters and the entire absence of ר, the reading proposed by Ginsberg and Albright must be regarded, to say the least, as precarious. If there is no certain mention of Jerusalem by name in this passage, there is no mention at all of it by name in the ostraca, for the name has not been discovered in any other passage.

THE USE OF העיר TO DESIGNATE JERUSALEM

In T[1] העיר "the city" was read or restored in four passages, viz., IV, l. 7, VI, l. 7, VII, l. 7 and XVIII, l. 2. In T[2] this reading has been given up in the last three passages[4], being retained only in IV, l. 7, where it is found in the form in which it occurs eight times in the Old Testament, viz., העירה. There is no doubt at all as to the correctness of the reading here. In the other three passages, however, the readings are most uncertain[5], and no further reference will be made to them on this occasion.

It is commonly agreed that העירה in IV, l. 7 refers to Jerusalem, the city *par excellence*. Its use in this sense in this passage is of interest, for the use of העיר, standing quite alone, to designate Jerusalem, is very rare in the Old Testament. De Vaux[1] has pointed out that העיר, standing alone, is used to designate the capital of the northern kingdom (cp. I Kings xxii, 26, 2 Kings x, 5), but he gives no instance of it being so used in reference to the capital of the southern kingdom. An example does occur, however, in Ezek. vii, 23, where העיר clearly refers to Jerusalem[2]. This use of העיר at Lachish to designate Jerusalem is a further reminder that what is of rare occurrence in the Old Testament must often have been in commoner use in Hebrew than we should suppose on the evidence of the Old Testament alone[3].

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[1] B., *loc. cit.*

[2] E², *loc. cit.*

[3] H., *loc. cit.*

[4] See p. 138 (on VI, l. 7), p. 173 (on VII, l. 7), and p. 193 (on XVIII, l. 2).

[5] Scholars vary very much in their reading of VI, l. 7; see H., p. 135; B, p. 104; V., p. 197; Va., p. 196; Ve., p. 23; E², p. 77; A. 73 (1939), p. 20, and 82 (1941), p. 22. Ostracon VII is so badly preserved as to make the task of decipherment hopeless except in the case of a few letters. On XVIII, l. 2, only the letters הע are visible on the photograph (cp. Harding's hand-copy, T¹, p. 181). See further B., p. 110; E², p. 89. The reading of T¹ is thought possible by H., p. 139.

It is of interest too to note that the verb preceding העירה in this passage is ויעלהו, the full phrase meaning " and he brought him up to the city." The use of עלה in the sense of " going up " to Jerusalem is, of course, frequent in the Old Testament[4]. The subject of ויעלהו is, as may be seen from line 6 of this ostracon, Shema'yahu, and the object is Semakhyahu. What the object of the journey of these two men to Jerusalem was we are not told. Elliger's[5] suggestion that it was to report to the central authorities in the capital on the military situation at Lachish is surmise only.

COMMUNICATION BY LETTER BETWEEN JERUSALEM AND LACHISH

From two passages in the ostraca we may learn that letters were sent from Jerusalem to Ya'ush, the military governor of Lachish, although in neither passage is this expressly stated. First, in Ostracon III, ll. 19/20 it is said that a letter from Tobyahu, "servant of the king" (עבד המלך)[1], reached Shallum, the son of Yaddua'. Tobyahu's title, "servant of the king", permits us to infer that he was a court official and that, as such, he was probably resident at Jerusalem[2]. This letter, after it had left the capital, reached "the prophet", who is mentioned in line 19, on one stage of its journey. It was passed on by him to Shallum, was received in turn by Hosha'yahu, the writer of this ostracon[3], and was sent on by him to Ya'ush at Lachish. The letter thus passed through several hands before arriving at its final destination.[4] Secondly, in Ostracon VI, ll. 3/4, there is a reference to "the letter of the king" ([ספ]ר המלך)[5] and "the letters of the officers" (ספרי השר[ם]).[5] It may be fairly assumed that the letters here referred to will have been sent from Jerusalem, where the royal court and the central military authority were to be found[6]. These letters reached Ya'ush at Lachish, and were sent on by him to the writer of this ostracon, whose identity is unknown, but who was in all probability, like Hosha'yahu, a junior officer in charge of some outpost within the sphere of Ya'ush's command.

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[1] V., p. 195.

[2] Cp. Gesenius—Buhl, *Hebr. u. Aram. Handwörterb. über das A.T.* 16th ed., p. 584, where a reference is also made to Is. LXVI, 6 where עיר, standing alone without the article, refers to Jerusalem.

[3] Cp. the present writer in *Journ. of Theol. Studies*, XL, p. 9, 11.

[4] *E.g.*, in Jer. xxxi, 6, Zech. xiv, 17, Ezra, vii, 7, etc. For עלה Hiph. in the sense of " bring up " a person, with accusative of place whither, cp. Nu. xx, 25, Josh vii, 24. For the Hiph. followed by an accusative with ה *locale*, as in the ostracon, cp. Josh. ii, 6.

[5] E^1, p. 53.

From these two passages we may conclude that communication between Jerusalem and Lachish was still possible at the time when these ostraca were written. The maintenance of communication between the capital and Lachish, together with the freedom with which men appear to move about between the two places—Shema'yahu and Semakhyahu could expect to arrive safely in Jerusalem—would suggest that neither Lachish nor Jerusalem was as yet in imminent danger from the Babylonian armies. The military situation in Judah had not yet, it would seem, entered upon a critical stage.[1]

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[1] For the readings טביהו and עבד, see the present writer in *P.E.Q.*, 1946, p. 40.

[2] Cp. 2 Kings xxii, 12, where Asahiah, who is called עבד המלך, was one of the company sent by King Josiah to "enquire of the Lord" after the reading of "the book of the law". Huldah the prophetess, who was consulted by the party, lived in Jerusalem (verse 14).

[3] Ostracon III is, incidentally, the only one which bears the name of the sender.

[4] E^1, pp. 44 ff., has some interesting remarks on the organisation of communications through relays of messengers which, he argues, was in operation at this time.

[5] This reading is generally adopted.

[6] E^1, p. 45, has suggested that the letters referred to in Ostracon V, ll. 6/7 may have contained instructions issued by the authorities in Jerusalem.

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[1] Cp. E^1, p. 53.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL ACTIVITIES IN PALESTINE AND TRANSJORDAN SINCE 1939.

By G. E. Kirk

Archæological work in Palestine and Transjordan during the war has naturally been confined, in the main, to local organizations, notably the Department of Antiquities, the Hebrew University, and the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society (hereinafter abbreviated to JPES). Foreign archæological schools and societies have of necessity been inactive, though Dr. Nelson Glueck, Director of the American School of Oriental Research, was able to continue his archæological exploration of Transjordan, and the École Biblique to excavate at Qiryat al 'Inab. Activity in the first post-war season 1945–6 also has been understandably small, though it is encouraging to record that the École Biblique has in June this year begun the excavation of Tell Fara', between Nablus and Beisan (to be distinguished from Tell Fara' near Gaza, excavated by Sir Flinders Petrie before the war). The following summary is arranged by chronological periods.

The only work in the *Palaeolithic* period were some small excavations in the caves of Mt. Carmel and elsewhere, carried out by Dr. M. Stekelis. They did not produce any finds of outstanding importance ; for details see QDAP XI, 115 ff.

Mr. J. Ory, Inspector of the Department of Antiquities, excavated a *Chalcolithic* cemetery near Benei Beraq, north of Tel Aviv. Besides characteristic pottery and flints, the site produced clay ossuaries in two types : the first, roughly oval in plan, open at the top and with curved sides, thus resembling a cradle or boat ; the second, oblong in plan with vaulted roof and high façade containing a large rectangular opening, evidently inspired by the contemporary form of house. The bodies were not cremated ; but the fact that no skull-fragments were found among the bones caused the excavator to suggest that they were perhaps dismembered before burial. He points out also that the only other site where Chalcolithic clay ossuaries have been found is at Hedera, somewhat farther north in the coastal plain. (QDAP XII, 43).

Trial trenches at Tell Fara' have produced a pottery sequence ranging from Roman back to the Chalcolithic.

Apparently this and Ophel are the only sites in the hill-country of Palestine at which Chalcolithic pottery have hitherto been reported ; Dr. Glueck informs me that he has now definitely identified Chalcolithic pottery on hill-country sites in Northern Transjordan.

The JPES has just completed the first season of the excavation of the important *Early Bronze Age* site of Khirbat Kerak, already notable for the well-burnished red and black pottery which has been named after it. The site occupies an important strategic position close to the exit of the Jordan from the Sea of Galilee. Already the excavation has produced the most imposing Bronze Age building yet found in Palestine : a rectangle 40 x 30 metres, whose walls of unhewn stone were carried to a maximum height of nine courses. The rectangle was evidently entered by a gateway 5 metres wide, leading to a hall the roof of which was supported by two columns. On top of the outer wall, which was no less that 10 metres thick, eight stone circles have been found, averaging 8 metres in diameter. Each was divided into four quadrants by narrow party-walls converging at right-angles from points on the circumference, leaving a vacant space in the middle. Their purpose is at present, not clear, but it is remarked that the plan is reproduced on an Early Bronze gold plaque found in a tomb in the vicinity a few years ago. After the Early Bronze Age the site was completely abandoned until the Hellenistic period. A Roman bath was found directly above the Bronze Age walls. (Palestine Post, 27 June '46).

The JPES did a fourth season of excavation in 1940 at the *Middle Bronze* site of Tell Jarisha, near Tel Aviv. There was already a small settlement in the Early Bronze, but it grew considerably shortly after 2000 B.C., and reached its greatest extent in the latter half of the Middle Bronze period. It offered the first opportunity of studying the construction of the massive type of fortification associated with the Hyksos invaders, which was here very well preserved. It was built of alternating layers of earth and broken rock, the stability of which was maintained by vertical brick walls in the body of the rampart and patches of sun-dried bricks on its sloping face. The material contained great quantities of pre-Hyksos pottery, thus providing a terminus post quem for the construction, which survived till the end of the Late Bronze Age. Some Philistine and Cypriot pottery of this period was found. A small settlement of the Early Iron Age on part of the top of the tell was abandoned in the 10th or 9th century B.C., and the site was never again occupied. (QDAP X, 198).

Dr. Nelson Glueck had a third season at Ezion Geber (Tell al Khulaifa, near Aqaba) in the spring of 1940. Five periods of occupation have now been distinguished. The first was that of the copper foundries guarded by a strong fortress, whose most important phase was under Solomon. The site covered 1½ acres, and the bricks of which it was built were greatly superior to those of modern Aqaba. Owing to the severity of natural conditions in this region, with sandstorms lasting for several days, great summer heat, and brackish water, these industrial plants were probably manned by state-owned slave-labour (for which, in the Hebrew kingdom, see BASOR 85, 14 ff.) imported seasonally with a "terrific" mortality rate. The free population, probably numbering not more than 200-300 persons, probably lived farther to the east near modern Aqaba, where the lee of the hills provides greater protection from wind and sands, and the water is almost completely fresh. The fortress was probably destroyed at the end of the 10th century B.C. by the Egyptian invader Shoshenk (Shishak), but the industrial plant was left more or less intact. The fortifications were then rebuilt, perhaps under Jehoshaphat *c.* 873—849 B.C., who tried abortively to revive Solomon's sea-trade with Arabia. The Old Testament tells us that Jehoshaphat had a new fleet of tarshish-ships built to sail to Ophir for gold. In this connexion Albright suggests (BASOR 83, 21) that " tarshish " was not originally a place name, as has been commonly supposed, but a Phœnician word ultimately borrowed from Akkadian and meaning " smelting-plant, refinery ". In this case " tarshish-ships " would be a refinery fleet. In the third period the foundries continued, but the remainder of the site was covered with houses. Thus, while it remained essentially an industrial settlement, it took on for the first time some of the character of a village. A large amount of industrial work was now done in the private houses. This development was perhaps the work of Uzziah *c.* 779—740, who " built Elath and restored it to Judah ". Old Testament evidence states that the Edomites seized the town in the reign of Ahaz, *c.* 735 B.C., and excavations showed that the buildings of this period were destroyed in a " terrific " fire. The fourth period is of a new industrial village, presumably under Edomite control, lasting to the end of the 6th century. Not much was left of the final period, which probably dated from *c.* 600 to the 4th century B.C. Numerous sherds of imported Greek pottery were found, probably representing imports of wine and other products shipped to Gaza and thence carried by camel caravan to Elath for onward transport to Arabia in exchange for incense, spices, etc. Aramaic ostraca of the 5th century were also found. The site was then abandoned, and the Nabataeans founded a new settlement at Aila, nearer to Aqaba, which became the southern terminal to Trajan's military road through Transjordan. The general impression left upon the excavator was that, in spite of the long period of Judean control, the population, pottery, and general cultural patterns were more closely related to those of Transjordan, N. Arabia, and Sinai than with those of Palestine proper. (BASOR 79, 2).

Glueck has also carried considerably further his archæological exploration of Transjordan, identifying many Old Testament sites and throwing much light on the character and extent of the Nabataean civilization. A fourth volume of his Explorations in Eastern Palestine in AASOR is expected. He points out (BASOR 85, 3) that the limits of extension of the characteristic Nabataean pottery fall considerably short of the geographical range of Nabataean inscriptions and the known limits of Nabataean political influence. The pottery is found in very large quantities at Aqaba, and should extend southwards into the Hijaz (*e.g.*, Mada' in Salih), but had not yet been identified when that region was last visited by archæologists. Northwards, however, the effective frontier of Nabataean pottery is a line from the north end of the Dead Sea through Madaba to the desert. It is almost lacking in N. Transjordan (though isolated sherds are found, *e.g.*, at Jerash), in spite of the fact that the Nabataeans are known to have controlled the Hauran, the Jebel Druze, and even temporarily Damascus *c.* 100 B.C. Glueck infers that the strongly Hellenized cities of the Decapolis in N. Transjordan may have presented a cultural and political barrier to direct Nabataean northward penetration, and that the line of their advance may rather have proceeded from the N. Arabian steppe (the so-called desert) north-west along the line of Wadi Sirhan. Since that wadi is almost entirely Sa'udi Arabian territory, no recent archæological exploration of it has been possible; but it is understood that two Nabataean inscriptions have been reported from the neighbourhood of Jawf at the south-eastern end of the wadi. Incidentally, a Nabataean tomb at Amman has produced two decorated Nabataean bowls almost complete (QDAP, XII, 58 ff.), a rare survival for this delicate and fragile ware. Unfortunately, no evidence for a more precise dating of its chronological limits has yet been obtained.

Professor E. L. Sukenik of the Hebrew University, excavated in 1945 a tomb near the main Jerusalem-Bethlehem road, not far from the suburb of Talpiot. The tomb contained eleven ossuaries, five with inscriptions in Aramaic and Greek. Two of the ossuaries inscribed in Greek received a somewhat sensation-seeking attention from the local and foreign press on account of the presence on both, of the name Ἰησοῦς (Jesus) followed in one case by the word **ΙΟΥ**, a variant rendering of the Old Testament name

Jehu, and in the other case by the unexplained word ΑΛΩΘ. The second of these ossuaries also bore a plain cross drawn in charcoal on each of its four sides. The tomb would appear to be earlier than the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D.[1]

Excavations in the grounds of the American School produced a new tower *c.* 12 x 9 metres of the Third Wall of Jerusalem, while another tower (the largest so far discovered, *c.* 20 x 8 metres) was found some 140 metres farther east, on the western slope of the Kidron Valley. The wall presumably turned south hereabouts to join the older city-walls. Its total length now traced is 765 metres. No new light was thrown on its date (BASOR 83, 4).

The JPES had a fourth season in 1940 at Sheikh Ibreiq in the Plain of Esdraelon (Beth She'arim, the Besara of Josephus and one of the seats of the Sanhedrin) (*see* Plates II and III). Four main building periods were found, ranging from the 2nd to the 5th centuries A.D., with traces of earlier construction dating back to the first half or middle of the 1st century A.D. The synagogue was built in the first half of the 3rd century, while an important and well-built public building adjacent to it belonged to the second half of the 2nd century. Both buildings were destroyed in the middle of the 4th century. A hoard of 1,100 coins found among the ashes contained nothing later than Constantius II. It is inferred that the whole city was destroyed by Gallus after the Jewish revolt of 352 A.D. There are poor remains of a later settlement, of the second half of the 4th and of the 5th centuries. Tomb-inscriptions were mainly in Greek, but among them were many in Hebrew and Palmyrene.

Mr. D. C. Baramki, Inspector of the Department of Antiquities, excavated a newly-discovered church at Beit Jibrin in 1941-2. The church had an atrium and narthex and was three-aisled, with prothesis and diaconicon flanking the apse, and was closed externally at the east end by a straight wall. On the south side of the atrium was a chapel with its own narthex ; it lay to the west of the church, so that its own apse projected eastwards only slightly farther than the narthex of the church. The remainder of this southern wing was filled with a series of rooms. The nave and aisles and the chapel contained figured mosaics, which had however been systematically mutilated, probably in the 8th century ; even fish had not been spared, though a spirited horse and bull escaped, and have been removed to the Palestine Museum. The most interesting subjects were Jonah in the whale's belly, and two fishermen in their boat attacked by a sea-monster. A Greek mosaic inscription, which might have provided the foundation-date for the church, was unfortunately illegible through mutilation. At a later date, perhaps contemporary with the mutilation of the mosaics, the church was converted to secular uses, and a hypocaust built in the diaconicon.

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[1] Prof. Sukenik very kindly provided this summary.

Khirbat al Mafjar, in the Jordan Valley a little north-east, was thought to be the remains of a Byzantine monastery when illicit surface digging partly exposed it. Excavations begun by the Department of Antiquities under the direction of Mr. Baramki in 1935 to ascertain the exact nature of the site soon revealed the presence of a mosque, while further work showed that we had to do with a winter palace of the Umayyads, comparable with Mushatta and Qusair 'Amra in Transjordan, or with Qasr al Hair in Syria, which was excavated about the same time. The excavation of Khirbat al Mafjar, which is still in progress and is hoped to continue for several more seasons, has already laid bare one of the most important monuments of Palestine (Plate IV, Fig. 1). So far a forecourt with a domed ornamental pool ; the palace proper, a rectangle 75 x 67 metres, built round a central court 29 x 28. metres ; a mosque, and a bath have been cleared, while a walled park extends for about a kilometre beyond the buildings. The water-supply was provided by a conduit from one of the springs that breaks out of the Judaean Hills into the Jordan Valley. The gateway and entrance-hall between the forecourt and the palace proper were lined with stone benches furnished with elbow rests, and richly ornamented above in stucco. The decorations include a statue in the round of a girl carrying a bouquet of flowers, a curious relief series of human heads projecting from a geometrically diversified background (these two subjects have been restored, and are now displayed in the Palestine Museum), together with animal, floral, and geometric motifs. The central court and its arcaded cloisters, the entrance hall, and gateway were all paved with slabs of bituminous limestone from the shores of the Dead Sea. The Palace had originally at least two storeys. The central room on the south side was a mosque with square minaret. The west block probably contained the residential quarters, with the diwan or audience-chamber as its central feature. A staircase in the west cloister led to a barrel-vaulted hall under the diwan. The side walls of the forepart of this hall contained benches covered with a polychrome mosaic imitating a tasselled carpet, while the floor was covered with larger mosaics. A stepped partition 120 cms. high separated off the rear part of the hall, which was fed with water by a pottery pipe 3 metres up in the west wall. The walls, like those of the ornamental pool in the forecourt, were faced with bricks and plastered to make them waterproof, and arrangements were made for the outflow of waste water. Hence the room was probably a bath. The north block contained a two-aisled hall, probably a banqueting hall, 28½ x 11 metres. The rooms of this east block were decorated with human, animal, floral and geometric subjects in fresco, now unfortunately fallen and fragmentary. There was a second larger mosque on the north side of the palace, which had the characteristic early mosque form of a rectangular enclosure open to the sky except for a roofed portion which provided shade at the southern end nearest to the mihrab (niche indicating the direction of Mecca). A northward extension of the west cloister led to baths, the excavation of which, begun two years ago has not yet been completed. They were built on a square plan with semicircular recesses on at least three sides. The bath proper and its vestibule resemble closely the arrangements of the bath under the diwan, described above. There was also a square retiring-room with benches along the sides and semi-circular apse. Mosaics on the floor of the square room represent a tasselled carpet (Plate IV, Fig. 2), while the floor of the apse contains an attractive mosaic of a great tree with two gazelles grazing, while a third gazelle is attacked by a lion. (Plate V, Fig. 1). The walls of this room were richly decorated with stuccos, resembling those of the entrance-hall of the palace, while the square room was roofed with a dome the interior of which was decorated by stuccos containing a curious circle of alternating male and female heads (Plate V, Fig. 2). The sculptures of the palace are largely in the Syrian-Byzantine tradition, but the abundant use of stucco, the employment of brick vaults, and the presence of Sasanian motives in sculptures and wall-paintings indicated that Mesopotamian as well as local artists were employed. (R. W. Hamilton, QDAP, XII, 1 ff.). No dedicatory inscription has been found, but workmen's graffiti mention the Umayyad caliph Hisham (723—43 A.D.) The building was largely ruined, probably by an earthquake in 746, before it was completed, as piles of roof-tiles and window-glass left in some of the rooms show. At a later date, after the palace had been neglected long enough to allow a considerable accumulation of debris, some of the rooms were cleared, more or less roughly reconditioned, and again occupied. On the basis of the pottery the 12th—13th centuries appear to have a fairly accurate dating of this reoccupation[1].

Excavations at Qiryat al 'Inab, better known as Abu Ghosh, on the Jerusalem-Jaffa road, conducted by the Benedictine Fathers and the École Biblique under the direction of Pere de Vaux, have revealed the remains of a khan built apparently *c.* 850 A.D. It was mentioned by Nasir-i-Khusraw (*c.* 1050), and by the earliest historians of the Crusades as the "castle of Emmaus". In 1141 the site was occupied by the Knights Hospitallers, who retained the general layout and built over the Roman spring that supplied the khan, a group of monastic buildings and their severe but beautiful church, which still stands and is well-known to visitors to Palestine. After Saladin's reconquest of Palestine in 1187 the monastery was abandoned and partly ruined, but the khan was restored in the Mamluk period, when probably the building of the present mosque was begun. The khan was finally abandoned at the end of the 15th century, and travellers in the next century mention only its ruins. (Revue Biblique, LIII (1946), 125 ff.)

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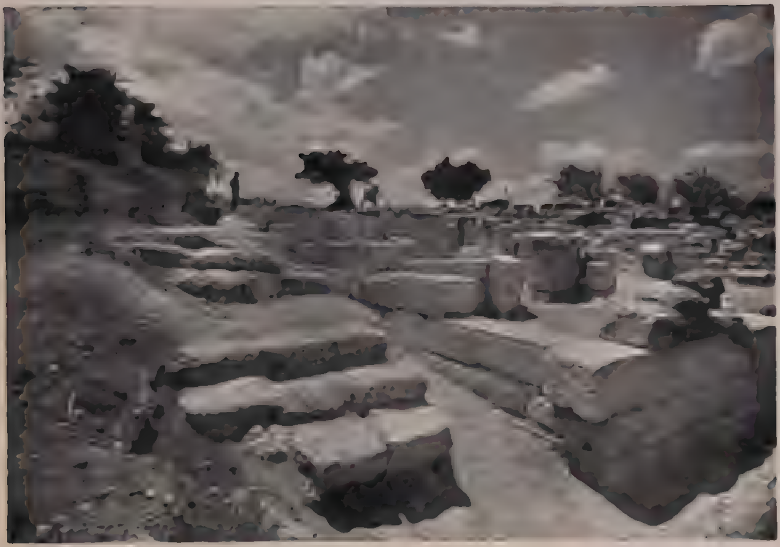
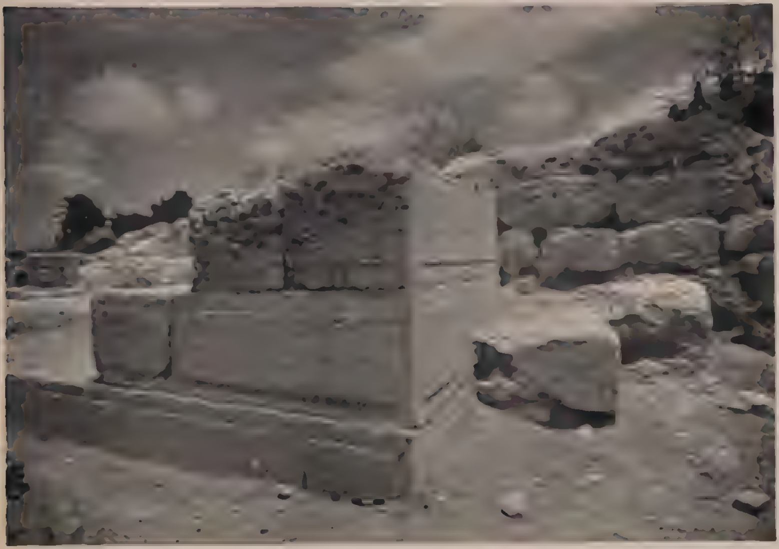
[1] Baramki, QDAP X, 65, 74. My thanks are due to Mr. Baramki for very kindly providing me with a summary of the principal results of the excavation to date, and to the Director of Antiquities for authorising its publication and that of the photographs.

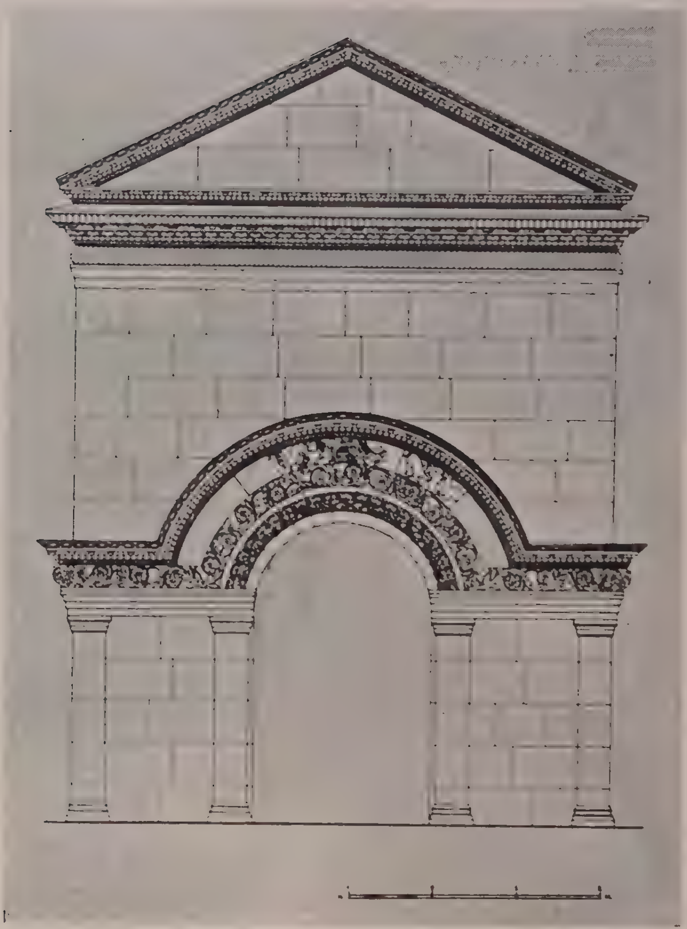
In the early summer of 1946 the Department of Antiquities had undertaken the cleaning of the paintings on the columns in the nave and aisles of the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem. It has permitted the identification of a number of the series of saints, painted in the Crusader period, and revealed a number of dedicatory inscriptions. Lower down on the columns a number of graffiti of European pilgrims have been revealed, mainly in the form of their crests and armorial bearings with the names of the owners sometimes added. Most of these appear to be post-Crusades, and some are dated as late as the second half of the 15th century, or within a generation of the Ottoman conquest. Full publication of this important discovery is awaited with interest. The Department hopes to go on to the cleaning of the early medieval mosaics on the walls of the clerestory.

A word may be welcomed on future archæological prospects in Palestine. The main desiderata are peaceful conditions and the supply of a number of keen students. Though the present security situation is disturbed, it is less disadvantageous for archæological work than were the years 1936-38, when nevertheless it was possible to continue excavation in many parts of the country without interruption. A factor which is likely to be more permanent is the high cost of living, which affects living expenses, transport, and wages alike. Trade unionism is growing rapidly among the Arab urban workers, and the Department of Labour has recently fixed the minimum daily wage for urban workers at 200 mils plus a cost-of-living allowance which may be as high as 320 mils. The villages are naturally less affected, but there too the good wages paid by the Army and R.A.F., which are likely to be maintained as long as the present large garrison is with us, have had their effect. The abundant supply of cheap labour, which somewhat lightened the task of financing an excavation before the war, has gone, perhaps for ever.

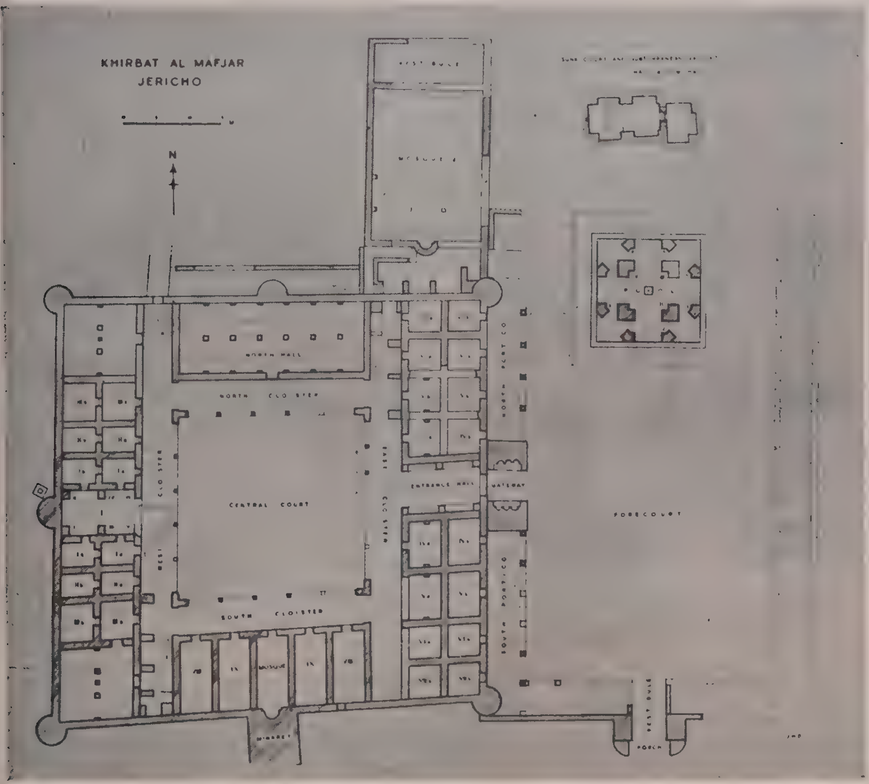




Excavations at Sheikh Ibreiq (Beth-She'arim)
Corners of the City Wall
(Reproduced by kind permission of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society)



Sheikh Ibreiq (Beth She'arim)
Monumental Tomb (restoration)


KHIRBAT AL MAFJAR
JERICHO
N
NORTH HALL
NORTH CLOISTER
WEST CLOISTER
CENTRAL COURT
EAST CLOISTER
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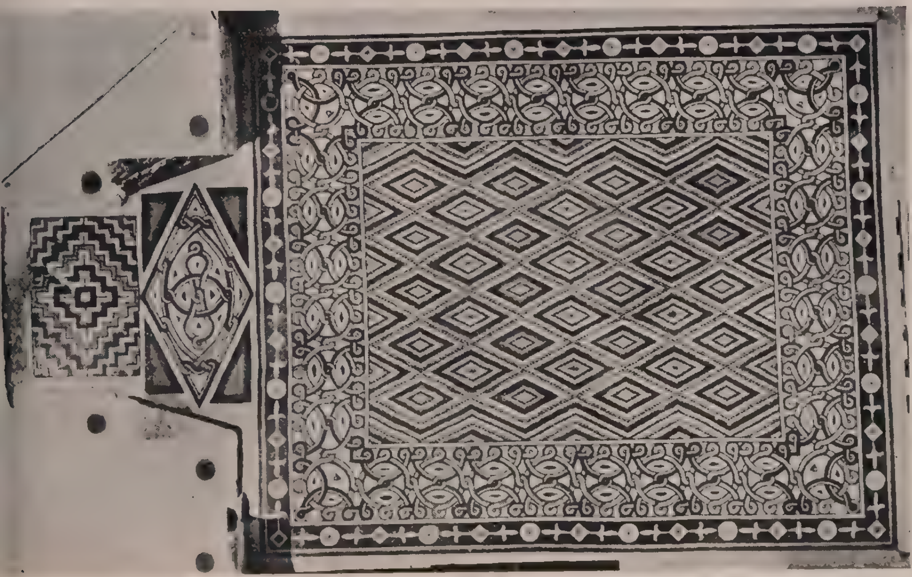
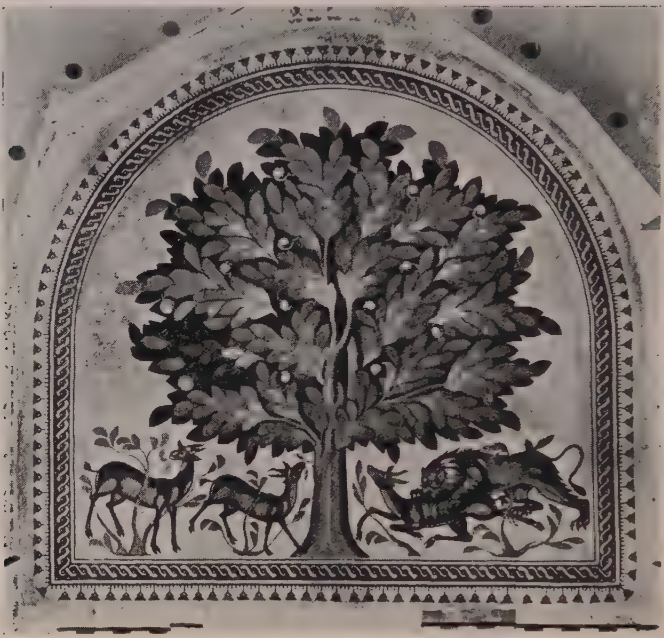
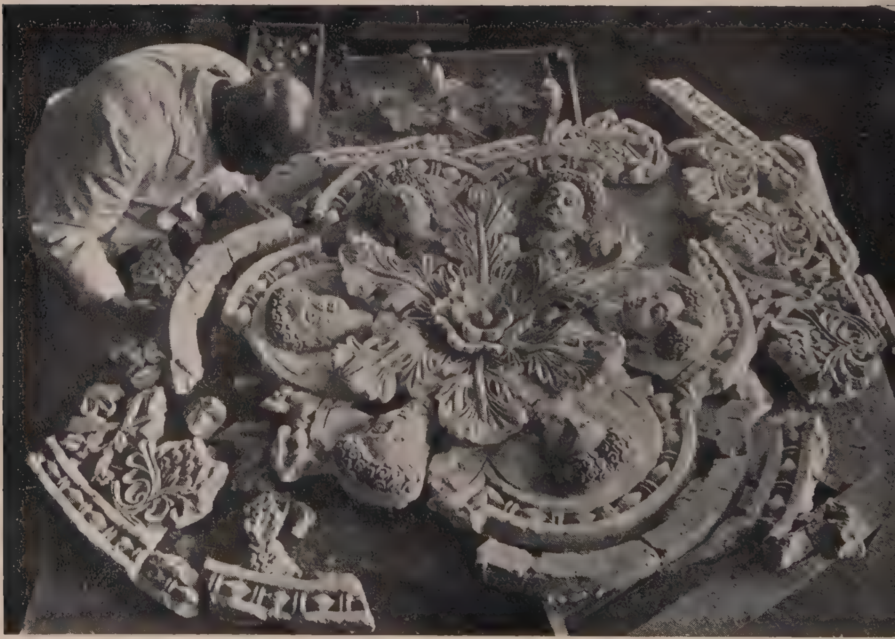
MOSQUE
ENTRANCE HALL
GATEWAY
NORTH PORTICO
SOUTH PORTICO
FORECOURT
MINARET
PORCH



KHIRBAT AL MAFJAR. FIG. 1. PLAN. FIG. 2. CARPET PATTERNED MOSAIC FLOOR





Khirbat al Mafjar. Fig. 1. Mosaic Floor. Fig. 2. Stucco Sculptur

VAS THE CORNER-STONE OF SCRIPTURE A PYRAMIDION?

By Edwin E. Le Bas

Illuminating in the extreme are the many symbols ıch as light, vine, door, shepherd and the like, under which esus has veiled His being. All of these admit of a simple traightforward interpretation. There is, however, one eeply significant figure of speech which, although apparently qually obvious, is, in reality, both hidden and highly echnical. I refer to the "corner-stone", under which)ld Testament symbol, Jesus, as the result of the ever-ncreasing hatred of the religious leaders of Judaism, veiled he prediction of His coming death. Based as the emblem s upon an architectural feature, one has only to consult the vritings of commentators and others to grasp that we have a ariety of corner-stones suggested as the original of this igure. Such being the case, the exact meaning behind he symbol is unavoidably eclipsed. There is thus, if we ıre to interpret aright the precise significance of this cryptic eference, a desperate need to re-examine from different tandpoints, just what meaning the Bible places upon this onstructional feature. Considering that the problem of its lesign has never, as far as I can trace, certainly throughout he entire Christian era, been definitely established, the ntriguing nature of the task before us can be readily grasped.

The two best-known passages in the Old Testament— shall ignore the others—are the well-known "rejected" orner-stone references in Ps. 118. 22, recorded in St. Matthew 21. 42; St. Mark 12. 10 and St. Luke 20. 17, 'The stone which the builders rejected is become the head of he corner"; and the words of Isaiah, "Behold, I lay in Zion for a foundation a stone, a tried stone, a precious corner *tone* of sure foundation: he that believeth shall not make ıaste" (Is. 28. 16). The first passage is mentioned by St.

Peter (Acts 4. 11 and I Pet. 2. 4, 7), but not by St. Paul. The second is quoted by St. Paul (Romans 9. 33 ; 10. 11) also by St. Peter (I Pet. 2. 4, 6). From the New Testament it passed freely into patristic literature and has persisted ever since.

In order that any reader unversed in architecture may the more readily grasp the nature of our enquiry, it will make it easier if he distinguish clearly between two terms which will be freely used, namely, the *site* of the stone on the one hand and its *design* on the other. We have first to determine the position the corner-stone occupied, *i.e.*, whether in the foundation (or base) of the building, or, in the summit ; then, further, its design or shape, this being of course, dependent upon the constructional purpose it was intended to serve. We shall first need to decide upon the situation the corner-stone was destined to occupy leaving the question of its design to follow.

From about the middle of the second century down to our day, there have been two rival schools respecting the position of the corner-stone ; those who advocated it was situated in the base of the building, and those who claimed it was a topstone. Irenaeus, the martyred bishop of Lyons was born during the first half of the second century. Like many others, he was very anxious that both Jew and Gentile should be united in Christ. In most buildings, there is a the base of the corners, a large stone known as the quoin or angle-stone. The role of this stone is to help bond the two walls which meet at right angles to each other. In the same way, he urged, Christ, the corner-stone, unite together in Himself both Jew and Gentile. On the othe hand, Tertullian, born some thirty years later at Carthage suggested the topmost position in the building as th originally intended site[1].

The examination of some two hundred and fifty work in an endeavour to find some authoritative ruling on th question of site, proved wholly useless. Agreement there wa none, although it was seen that the majority of writer

[1] Irenaeus, " *Cont. Haer.*, iv, xxv, 1 ; Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.*, iii, 7.

ɩvoured the foundation of the building. The reading in ɴnglish of the passage from Isaiah 28. 16, speaks of laying In Zion for a foundation a stone", a rendering which ertainly favours the base. Among standard lexicons, Ioulton & Milligan's "*Vocab. of the G.T.*" upholds this iew[1].

If theology were allowed to decide the issue, it would, f course, be obliged to rule out the quoin. One commenıtor, the one-time popular A. Barnes, grasped that such corner-stone "would be needed at each corner of the uilding . . ."[2] Just so, but orthodox Christianity has ver held that Jesus is "the *only*-begotten from the Father . . ." 'his quite excludes the quoin as a candidate for the post. ɩlthough we cannot base any conclusion on symbolic fitness, et, if the corner-stone is to act as a reliable emblem of the Iessiah, it should certainly occupy a unique site unmatched y any other throughout the entire building.

The question of site was finally approached and successılly solved by Prof. J. Jeremias. In a scholarly article ntitled "κεφαλὴ γωνὶας—ἀκρογωνιαῖος", Prof. Jeremias xamines the terms referring to the corner-stone in the ɔllowing sources: MT and LXX texts of Ps. 118 (117). 22; saiah 28. 16; Sym. 4 Reg. 25. 17; *Testament of Salomon*, xii, 7; xxiii, 4; Hippolytus, "*Elenchos*", v. 7, 35; 'ertullian, "*Adv. Marc.*", iii. 7; Aphrahat, "*Homilies*", lso Ps. 118. 22 and Is. 28. 16 in Targum and Talmud. 'he conclusion reached is that the stone occupies the *ummit* of the building, where it is placed as the crowning, ompleting stone of the edifice, *i.e.*, "der Abschlussstein"[3]

There is no doubt but that the Professor is correct in is main conclusion, and we may, therefore, safely follow im in regarding the question of site as now definitely ettled, the corner-stone being most certainly a topstone. Ie, however, still leaves the question of design unsolved, ıggesting that it probably "über dem Portal eingesetzt wurde ".[1] Had the Professor brought architectural exper ence to supplement his linguistic approach, there is sma doubt but that he would rapidly have discovered the exa type of stone.

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[1] "*Vocab. of the G.T.*", ἀκρογωνιαῖος.

[2] A. Barnes, "*Notes on the Psalms*", Ps. 118. 22.

[3] "*Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*", 1930, p. 264f.

Turning now to the question of design of the corne stone, there are nearly a dozen different topstones whic have been suggested as intended for the original. Thes include the following : copestone ; keystone of arch ; ke stone of barrel vault ; abacus ; architrave ; cornice ; ape stone of gable or pediment ; acroterium ; topstone pinnacle and pyramidion. St. Chrysostom was the fir writer I have been able to trace, who made a defini suggestion as to the type of topstone, he having advocate the keystone of an arch. It should be mentioned, howeve that in every instance we are given simply the suggeste design of the corner-stone without any architectural groun drawn from scripture or other sources in support of t choice. On this basis, therefore, one suggestion has much weight as any other. It is obvious that the enti question needs to be re-opened afresh.

It will be noticed that the topstones just mentione hail very largely from the Grecian (or classical) school architecture. The generally accepted date for the fir Dorian temple in Greece did not fall much before the midd of the seventh century B.C., while the all-stone temple hardly to be found earlier than the sixth century B.C Now the date of Isaiah's reference to the threatened Assyria invasion as " the over-flowing scourge ", would have bee about 710 B.C. Small objects of Grecian craftsmanshi have certainly been found in Palestine dating from abou this eighth century.[1] To argue from thence, however, to the prophet's acquaintance with Grecian architecture in vogue anywhere from about half a century to a century later, is far from sound. We shall see later, moreover, that the design of the corner-stone was most certainly known by the Israelites during the days of Solomon, being embodied by him in the temple. Such being the case, we must rule out all possible dependence upon Grecian architecture for the original design of the corner-stone. This disposes of the favourite apexstone of the Grecian pediment, apart from which this is duplicated at the rear of the classical temple.

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[1] Kittel, " *Theol. Wörterbuch z. N. T.*" *γωνία, ἀκρογωνιαῖος, κεφα γωνίας.*

[2] D. S. Robertson, " *The Handbook of Greek and Roman Architecture* Cambridge, 1929, gives 640 B.C., as the date of the Heraeum at Olympia while W. B. Dinsmoor, " *The Architecture of Ancient Greece* " (Anderson Spier's ed. revsd.), Batsford, London, 1927, gives, " the end of t seventh century B.C. ", and even here the architrave and the roof we of wood.

Suggestions coming from the far later Gothic school, such as the keystone of a barrel vault, advanced by one well-known Continental commentator, are still less acceptable. Little time need be spent upon the remaining suggested corner-stones, which are far from distinctive and not one of which fulfils one critical condition to be mentioned presently. It is only reasonable, therefore, to conclude that we must ascend the architectural stream far nearer to its source, certainly to some school of at least 1000 B.C., with which Palestine can be shown on other grounds to have had close contacts. This is necessary for the Hebrews had no constructional originalty, having had to approach Phoenicians to aid them with the erection of Solomon's temple. Prof. Stanley A. Cook never wrote a truer word than when he stated, "From the earliest times Palestine has been intimately connected with Egypt".[2] If we approach this quarter, evidence will soon accumulate that our assumption of discovering here the possible home of the corner-stone, is correct.

We shall be led to this conclusion by the application of a very simple, but wholly unexpected, architectural principle. It is revealed to us by the use, in the different translations of the Greek Old Testament, of a perplexing constructional word ἀκρογωνιαῖος. Standard definitions by Grimm-Thayer, Moulton and Milligan and others have looked upon it as a quoin. Jeremias holds that *ἀκρο* has the meaning of "the highest point", but was frankly perplexed by the apparent use of the word for a foundation stone in Isaiah 28. 16, "die so viel Verwirrung angerichtet hat".

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[1] J. Garrow Duncan, "*Digging up Biblical History*", S.P.C.K., London, 1931, Vol. 1, p. 168.

[2] S. A. Cook, "*The Old Testament—a Reinterpretation*", Cam., 1936.

Among the translations of the Hebrew text into Greek is one made by Symmachus toward the end of the second century A.D. In this version he makes use of this significant word on three separate occasions: of the ornament cast in bronze for each of Solomon's twin pillars, Jachin and Boaz (4 (2) Kings. 25. 17); in the "rejected" passage (Ps. 118 (117). 22) and, lastly, in common with the LXX, Theodotion and Aquila, of the corner-stone in Zion (Is. 28. 16). It is obvious, therefore, that the design, whatever it may be, is the same in all three cases, even although in that of the pillars it is cast in bronze while in the other two cases it is cut out of stone. The two different structures to which the term is here applied are, on the one hand, a pillar, and, on the other, a building.

Now let the student conjure up every type of edifice known to the ancient world, be it palace, temple, mausoleum, theatre, fortress, pyramid, ziggurat, etc., and then, alongside of these structures range every type of pillar, monument, stele, monolith, obelisk, column, cenotaph and the like, which man has raised for any purpose whatsoever. He will then find that, however dissimilar these erections are, when he compares their summits, there is only one building and but one pillar, the summits of which are virtually identical. We refer to the pyramid on the one hand and the obelisk on the other. They are both crowned with a stone which is pyramidally shaped, *i.e.*, with a pyramidion. The pyramidion on an obelisk is of one piece with the shaft, while separate on a pyramid; also, it is steeper than the latter. These features are, however, incidental and do not affect the ruling design, which is pyramidal. Thus, the same Greek word would apply to both.

Considering that the word *ἀκρογωνιαῖος* is not found in classical Greek, this would seem to imply that it was unknown in Grecian architecture, which is true of the pyramidion. Further, since it is found in Egyptian Greek

om the date of the Septuagint to that of Theodotion, say,
ver a period of some three hundred years, this equally
ts in with the fact that it is essentially an accurate descrip-
on of a constructional feature which is admittedly Egyptian.

It is submitted, therefore, that unless the textual evidence
an be overthrown, it would seem that, the corner-stone
f Scripture described by the term λίθος ἀκρογωνιαῖος
none other than a pyramidion. It establishes, moreover,
ne view that the Nile rather than the Euphrates was the
riginal home of the corner-stone, for, although the latter
as acquainted with twin obelisks, yet the ziggurat was
rowned, not with a pyramidion, but with a flat summit
n which was built a sacred shrine.

The foregoing empirical basis, suggested as that upon
hich the identification of the corner-stone might well
est, prompts some linguistic affinities which should also
e mentioned in this connection. The close relation
etween ancient Egyptian and Hebrew has been steadily
stablished by the researches of modern scholars such as
rof. Koehler, Prof. Yahuda and others, following upon
enfey's original work of over a century ago.[1] It would seem
hat there may be an undetected identity between these
wo languages in respect of the name for the corner-stone.

In the characteristic passage of Isaiah 28. 16, there
ccurs the duplicated Hebrew expression אֶבֶן אֶבֶן, Prof.
Iarti declaring that the first אֶבֶן is superfluous.[2] As
ointed in the Massoretic text, the two nouns are in appo-
ition, the assumption being, apparently, that the prophet
efers to some wholly indefinite design of corner-stone.
his may partly account for the confusion which the text
as occasioned and to which Prof. Jeremias, as we have seen,
raws attention.

Is there not, however, another interpretation possible?
. Weigall identified the Egyptian (bn bn) with the

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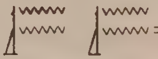
[1] Benfey, "*Über das Ver. der Aegypt. Spr. z. Semitis. Sprachstamm*",
eipzig, 1844).

[2] Prof. Marti, "*Jesaja*", Tübingen, 1900.

pyramidion,[1] Dr. Battiscombe Gunn confirming this the writer. The present-day term for the pyramidic among the fellahin working on field excavations is st *benben*, a remarkable instance of survival throughout son thousands of years! That Hebraic scholars regarded tl corner-stone as indicative of the highest and most exalted rar known to them, is seen in the fact that the Targum Jonatha paraphrases Isaiah 28. 16 by using the term ך מלך which it carefully duplicates. Does this support the origin אבן אבן? This is scarcely accidental, and must be cor sidered, I suggest, as significant. Must we then conside the two terms as identical? It would seem so.

May I suggest, therefore, that Greek architects settlir in Egypt recognised at once not simply the non-classic nature of the pyramidion, but also its highly distinctiv character? They consequently took the simple pref *ἀκρο-* (as in Acropolis, acroterium, etc.,) and linked it wi the koine term for corner, angle, *γωνιαῖος*, thus giving *ἀκρο-γωνιαῖος*. The Greek would then further diffe entiate between the stone pyramidion and the bronze l the use of *λίθος* to qualify the former, and by *χάλκεος* indicate the latter, as done by Symmachus (4(2) King 25, 17), a refinement not possible, apparently, to the mo limited constructional vocabulary of the Hebrew. May therefore, suggest the following equation:

 = *λίθος ἀκρογωνιαῖος* = אבן אבן.

One feature, arising out of the foregoing immediate arises. We find ourselves faced with the purposive eleme so clearly stated both in the A. and the R. VV. of Isaia 28. 16, "I lay in Zion for a foundation". If we were take this as final, it would be impossible to accept any ty of corner-stone other than the quoin, for this has bee since time immemorial, the design best fitted for an angl stone. May I mention, however, that there is no eviden that I can trace, either in Hebrew, or in translations in

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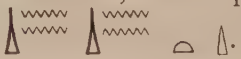
[1] A. Weigall, "*A History of the Pharaohs*", Vol. I. p. 159. Londo 1925. The usual feminine form is .

either Greek or Latin, to support the view that the corner-stone was laid to serve any *constructional* purpose in the foundations of Zion?

יָסַד means "to establish, found, fix (. . . perhaps originally *fix firm* or *close*; . . . In Hebrew usually *fix firm* so as to *found*)". (Oxford Lexicon). Here fixidity is clearly basic, whilst "to found", constructionally, is derived and secondary. Fenton, by the way, gives the primary meaning in his translation of the verse, though he writes "fix up", implying an erection of the corner-stone.

The LXX preserves the above distinction by the employment of two separate verbs—an indication of architectural exactitude. The technical term, "to found or to lay constructionally", is θεμελιόω, and is used well over a score of times. It is NOT used, however, in Isaiah 28. 16, but ἐμβάλλω . . . εἰς. Thus Barnabas, quoting this verse, uses the latter expression, admirably translated by Bishop Lightfoot, "I will put into the foundations of Zion . . ."[1] No building operation can be read into this statement.

Latin transcripts support the above. Irenaeus writes in the Latin version, "ego mitto in fundamenta Sion . . ."[2], while Jerome in the Vulgate translates, "ego mittam in fundamentis . . ."

The later Aramaic paraphrase supports all of the above, for it reads, "I shall establish and support him". No specific purpose corresponding to any constructional operation to be carried out by "the king" (Messiah), is implied.

From the above it would seem that we have no right to read into the Hebrew text any specific purpose such as is suggested in the A. and R. VV. I believe there is a definite purpose present, but this lies far beyond the scope of the present article. It is thus quite open to regard the corner-stone as a pyramidion.

[1] J. A. Robinson, "*Excluded Books of the N. T.*" London, 1927.

[2] Irenaeus, "*Cont. Haer.*" Lib. Tres. xxi, 7; see also Cyprian, "*Test.*", Lib. Tres. ii, 16 and Firmicus Mat., "*De Err. Prof. Rel.*", xx; both write, "ego inmitto in fundamenta . . ."

Now, not only, as we have just seen, does Isaiah leave the way open to consider the corner-stone as a pyramidion and not necessarily as a quoin, but he goes much further. Our English translation tells us that the corner-stone is a "tried" stone, a feature which has been of inestimable value to every student of homiletics. I am afraid, however, that Isaiah's term אֶבֶן אֶבֶן בֹּחַן needs also to be examined afresh if its suggestive constructional value is to be rightly appreciated. Its underlying significance has not, apparently, yet been pointed out by any scholar.

Vitringa translates it as "*lapis probationis*" (a stone of trial), or "*lapis explorationis*", (a stone of testing). Bengel adopts the latter rendering, admirably translated by Fausset as, "a searching-out stone". Delitzsch calls it, "a stone of testing, *i.e.*, for the purpose of approving or the opposite". Owen Whitehouse also terms it, "a stone of testing". C. A. Briggs is emphatic and writes, "בֹּחַן is *test* stone, and not *tested* stone", and translates it thus in the text. The Oxford Lexicon (B.D. & B.), also translates it as being in the active voice, "testing", but like Whitehouse (Century Bible), immediately translates אֶבֶן בֹּחַן in the passive voice thus, "*a tested, tried stone, i.e.*, approved for use as a foundation-stone", Whitehouse giving us, "a stone well tested". This is a further instance of the confusion which has dogged the translators of Isaiah 28. 16. There is no doubt but that אֶבֶן אֶבֶן בֹּחַן is in the active voice, but the view that the corner-stone is a foundation-stone has misled many in taking the expression as passive. Some have even, like Nägelsbach (Lange), held that the term is intentionally ambiguous.

The truth is that we are here given by the prophet an insight into a little-known constructional function which can only be performed by an extremely limited number of topmost corner-stones. Ignorance of this comparatively unknown role is entirely responsible for the misunderstanding which has arisen.

It is impossible to do more than briefly illustrate the part which is here mentioned by the prophet. If we take the gable end of a house built in stone or brick, there is often at the summit a small triangular stone known as the apexstone. Formerly, as in West Yorkshire, it was considered a test of superlative building accuracy for the builder to be supplied with the apexstone *cut beforehand*, and for him to build his gable to match the apexstone.[1] Placed at the summit when the gable was virtually finished, it at once acted as a testing stone of the accuracy or otherwise of the builder's work. If the gable were in error, the apexstone might have to be re-cut, or even rejected for another which would fit the faulty gable !

This is clearly the function to which the prophet directs our attention. It is applied to the pyramidion which would be a testing stone *par excellence*, scrutinising, as it would, not the constructional work of the gable, but, of an entire pyramid ! That it would have been cut and polished beforehand, is, of course, granted. Thus the rejection of a previously shaped pyramidion is readily grasped as being well within constructional practice. On the other hand, the laying of a quoin by any experienced group of workmen would be a comparatively simple matter, and its rejection, for any reason whatsoever, within constructional experience, would be inconceivable. This function thus agrees precisely with the view above suggested that the corner-stone is a pyramidion.

Those who regret the loss of the term " tried " may, perhaps, permit me to add that the inclusion of this feature would be quite uncalled for in any constructional reference to the stone work of any important structure. Every stone chosen for the building, especially were it to occupy a position of outstanding importance, would have already been tested to the uttermost. Ramsay points out blocks in ancient Roman quarries still bearing the unfavourable verdict, " REPR(obatum) ".[2] Isaiah is sparing in his words, but each expression counts for much.

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[1] This highly illuminating fact I owe to Mr. Walter Allatt, a builder well known throughout the Spen Valley district, Yorkshire.

[2] Sir Wm. Ramsay, " *Pauline Studies* ", London, 1906, p. 253 ; " *Expositor* ", 5th Series, Vol. ix, 1899, pp. 35–36.

May I suggest one emendation in the Greek text? The LXX writes ἐκλεκτός, which Vitringa suggests corresponds to בֹּחַן. Having already expressed his preference for the active voice, he, like others, falls into the passive when he adds, " Est autem electum quod probatum est ". Should ἐκλεκτός therefore, have, been ἔκκλητος? I feel strongly that this latter word was the original. It would thus be the precise equivalent of the testing function expressed in Hebrew ; ἔκκλητος " selected to judge or arbitrate on a point ; ἔ″ πόλις an umpire city ; χρόνος ἔ″ " time limit for appeals " (L. & S. 1940). Here we have a powerful and authoritative role quite in keeping with the function suggested in the Hebrew.

* * *

The foregoing is a very brief summary of one phase of an enquiry which ranges far beyond the limited field here opened. Not all the arguments in support of the suggested design have been given, but sufficient, I trust, to win for it the careful consideration of the interested student.

The course of the argument followed is a simple one. The impossibility of accepting the once popular quoin in face of the research of Prof. J. Jeremias, led to the application of a constructional principle that only a pyramidion could crown both a pillar and a building, as required by the Greek texts. This conclusion involved, of course, the rejection of the English translation of Isaiah 28. 16, which states that the corner-stone was laid " for a foundation ", since this purposive act implies, constructionally, the use of the quoin. The original Hebrew does not uphold this accepted translation. A further effect was to question the use of the passive voice " tried ", since the prophet definitely suggests that the corner-stone was a " testing " stone. This almost unknown function was illumined by the occasional constructional practice (with reference to the gable apexstone) followed half a century and more ago in England. This part could be played by a gable apexstone with respect only to the gable itself, but, by a pyramidion, in regard to the entire building. *It is the only stone known to architecture* *hich could fill this judicial role over a complete edifice.* This ne word alone proves the prophet's extreme technical recision. All of these features are interlocked and together rm a closely-knit argument in support of the pyramidion s the design of the corner-stone.

None the less, the suggestion is put forward tentatively. t involves such a revolutionary treatment of the accepted anslation of Isaiah 28. 16, that many a student will, aturally, feel impelled to work over independently, either he entire, or a portion of the argument. I trust this will e done. For a full examination of the theory, however, ome acquaintance with architecture will be essential. ndeed, it is doubtless due to ignorance of this art that hroughout the entire range of the Christian era, incredible s it may seem, I have been quite unable to trace any nformed and exhaustive enquiry into the design of the cornertone. And this, notwithstanding that it is, perhaps, the nost suggestive yet penetrative Messianic symbol in cripture. The pyramidion, it must be mentioned, was first ut forward, I believe, about a century ago by John Taylor, he publisher to the London University, but here as with ll other suggested topstones, without supporting arguments. he foregoing are submitted in its favour. I know of o other valid arguments upholding any other design.

If accepted, the pyramidion possesses implications which re remarkable in their range. But these features, with thers, lie quite beyond the scope of this present contriution.[1]

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[1] It is hoped to secure ere long the publication in book form, of the ntire argument in favour of the pyramidion.

A METEORITE OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY B.C.

BY W. J. PHYTHIAN-ADAMS

IN the summer of 1908 I was on a cycling tour with friend in the south-west of England. In the course of it stayed a night at Monmouth, and there we witnessed unforgettable phenomenon. The weather was very fi and hot, and feeling disinclined for sleep, we strolled f a considerable time about the town. It was then that noticed that the night was strangely light. It was ne midummer, but this fact could not account for the illumi ation. At 11.30 p.m. one was able to read the print of newspaper by it without any difficulty ; and it was clear both of us that the situation was quite abnormal. We thoug at first, naturally, that it must be due to an aurora, but the was no sign of the flickering which is a feature of the Northe Lights. There was, rather, one steady diffused radian suggestive of a sunset after-glow or the light from invisible full-moon.

It is only now that I have learned the explanation of t phenomenon from Mr. Frank W. Lane's book " *The Elemen Rage* " (*London : Country Life, Ltd.* 1945). " At about 7 a. on June 30th, 1908 over the Central Siberian forest ne Vanovara on the Upper Tungus [lat. 61° N., long. 102° E a great incandescent mass was seen to fly through the ai coming from the south-west. Just before it struck t ground there was a terrific explosion as the fiery mass bu in the air. A moment later and the earth was shaken by an earthquake as the fragments buried themselves the earth " (p. 120). The fall of this great meteorite (whi was unknown until the 1920's) caused oscillations in t British microbarograph record and registered mild shoc on the seismographs in Jena and Tiflis ; but the mo remarkable of its effects was the production of an " extr ordinarily strong light" which appeared in Sweden about an hour after sunset and lasted till after two in the morning"; while at Aberdeen a meteorologist recorded it as "Almost as bright as daylight" at 10 p.m. For two successive nights "it failed to get dark at all in the south of England", according to one authority (p. 119).

This "lengthening of the hours of daylight" was caused, Mr. Lane tells us, by the vast cloud of meteoric dust and smoke which was flung miles high into the air; and he quotes the report of the Soviet scientist Kulik (1939) who says: "At dusk, that same day, enormous silver clouds were seen at an altitude of 83 km. (about 50 miles), which almost turned the night into day throughout the continent, from the basin of the Yenissei to the Atlantic and even the Black Sea". This cloud, it is thought, caught the sun's rays and deflected them downwards, the effect continuing even after sunset on account of its great height above the earth (p. 125).

Have we here the explanation of a phenomenon with which readers of the Old Testament will be familiar, the "miraculous" lengthening of the daylight made famous by the song of *Joshua* x, 12-13:

"Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon;
And thou, Moon, in the valley of Aijalon,
And the sun stood still, and the moon stayed,
Until the nation had avenged themselves of their enemies."?

"There was no day like that before it or after it" adds the chronicler; and he was no doubt telling the truth as it lay within his own experience. Certainly something quite abnormal seems to have happened, and the description of it strongly resembles the phenomenon of June 30th, 1908. We may note, in particular, the apparent indecision as to whether this strange light was that of the sun or of the moon; which is exactly analogous to our reactions at Monmouth. That it must be one or the other would be taken for granted; and this would account for the phrasing of the song without one needing to suppose that the poet meant it to be taken literally.

A further point deserves attention. In the narrative of the battle which precedes the song, it is said that, as the enemy "fled from before Israel, while they were in the going down of Beth-horon, the Lord cast down great stones from heaven upon them unto Azekah, and they died". An editor (distinguishable by his use of "*The children of* Israel") has added to this account a note in which he identifies these "great stones" with hailstones; but this seems to be no more than a (very natural) assumption. Is it not at least possible that the earlier writer recorded the facts as faithfully as he could? If he had wanted to say "hailstones", there was nothing to prevent him. He did not do so, and the most obvious inference is that they were not hailstones. On the other hand, if they were fragments torn from a large meteorite passing overhead, what better description of them could be given than that of "great stones cast down from heaven"?

We may remember in this connection the description of Jehovah's passage through the heavens in Psalm xviii:

"At the brightness before him his thick clouds passed,
Hailstones and coals of fire,
Jehovah also thundered in the heavens,
And the Most High uttered his voice;
Hailstones and coals of fire".

This looks very much like a traditional description of the Beth-horon phenomenon in which the "hailstones" of the one writer are combined with the "great rocks" of the other, and the latter are *remembered* (for this does not appear in the text) as having been incandescent.

Mr. Lane (pp. 109-110) quotes an eyewitness account of one magnificent meteorite which affords a striking parallel to the picture drawn by the Psalmist. This was the meteor which fell at Homestead, Iowa, in 1875, terrifying men and animals as it passed. The light about its head is described as "a bright deep red, with flashes of green-yellow, and other prismatic colours. The deep red blended with, and shaded off into, the colours of the train following [estimated at from seven to twelve miles long] ; but the whole ead was enclosed in a pear-shaped mass of vivid white light ext to the body of the meteor".

Cloud masses of smoke or vapour followed "the brightess" of this "presence," sometimes seeming to overtake it nd then being lost ; while observers within twelve miles of ts path reported that from first to last it threw off "coals" nd "sparks". An intensely loud and crashing explosion n the sky followed its passing and was mingled with "a rushing and crashing sound that seemed to follow up the meteor's path, and at intervals, as it rolled away northward".

Our suggestion then is that (as in 1908) a meteorite fell to earth in the early hours of the morning in which Israel engaged the Amorite confederacy around Gibeon. Fragments torn from it as it sped through the air showered down upon the enemy and drove them in headlong flight. The pursuit lasted all day, but when the hour came in which they might have hoped for darkness to cover their escape, the heavens remained lighted by the after-effects of the meteorite's explosion.

But where did it fall ? Certainly not anywhere in Palestine, for if it had done so, some memory of the fact would surely have survived. Have we then any data as to its course ? One at least is the direction of the enemy's flight. The pass of Beth-horon runs roughly from south east to north west : it appears probable, therefore, that the meteorite was travelling on this course. It did not, however, fall into the Mediterranean, since if it had done so there would have been no "day-light" after-effects. We must presume then that it reached dry land somewhere, probably some part of Asia Minor ; and, this being so, it is natural to ask whether any memory of so extraordinary a phenomenon has been preserved in the records of that country.

Now, in the Annals of the Hittite monarch Mursil II (1340-1300 B.C.), the king relates that in the summer of his third year a "thunder-bolt" struck the Arzawan capital, Apasas. That it was a meteorite of great size is shown by the fact that its arrival was witnessed by the Hittite army on the central plateau of Asia Minor (actually somewhere on the river Sangarius), while Apasas was on the seacoast about 300 miles away. (If Apasas was, as I believe, the later Ephesus, we meet this same "thunder-bolt" again, in Acts xix, 35).

Mursil says that the Hatti-land "gazed after" this phenomenon (literally "saw it from behind") while the land of Arzawa saw it "in front", *i.e.*, head on. The former phrase is ambiguous but it does not imply that the meteorite passed over the Hittites, coming from the north-east. All that it seems to mean is that they were able to follow it in its flight, whereas the Arzawans in Apasas had to endure its impact. These conditions would be satisfied if it were travelling from the south-east and crossed the south-west corner of Asia Minor on a course roughly at right-angles to a spectator on the heights of the northern plateau. There is nothing therefore *on these grounds* to exclude the possibility that it was actually the same meteorite which earlier that day has showered its "coals" upon Beth-horon.

Unfortunately, however, we now reach an apparent *impasse*. The archæological evidence from Jericho shows conclusively that the last city on the site was destroyed before it could make contact with the Egypt of Amenhotep IV (Akhenaton) *i.e.*, before 1375 B.C. If the JE document of *Joshua* is correct in ascribing that destruction as well as the victory of Beth-horon to the agency (under God) of Joshua himself, the dates clearly will not fit. There is a gap of some forty years (or more) between the Israelite and the Hittite stories ; and we shall be forced to conclude that they refer to two distinct events of the same nature.

Personally, I cannot be satisfied with this solution. Meteoric phenomena on so grand a scale are by all accounts rare ; and if the gap of forty years is from one point of view too large, from *this* point of view it seems to me far too small. I find it easier to believe that one of the documents is chronologically at fault than that two great meteorites fell within so short a time of one another in the same region of this earth.

Now, if we assume an error in one or other of the two accounts, there can scarcely be a doubt where it lies. Mursil's Annals are contemporary documents of the highest value to the historian ; and his dates are accurate. The narrative of *Joshua*, on the other hand, was written centuries after the settlement in Canaan and has been edited and re-edited by later hands. To dismiss it for that reason as wholly unhistorical would be absurd ; but it would be equally foolish to accept it as wholly reliable. To deny the very existence of Joshua is one thing, to doubt the authenticity of all the stories about him another. That he led Israel across Jordan to the destruction of Jericho, and thence to the occupation of Mt. Ephraim, is a tradition too well attested to be false : but the narrative itself is so incomplete that the historicity of subsequent events must be determined on their own merits.

The chief lacuna is the absence of any account of the actual seizure of Mt. Ephraim, though Israel is securely installed there before the book ends. This is a remarkable omission, and it shows that we are dealing not with written history in the usual sense but with a mosaic of memories and traditions pieced together long after the events took place. We may assume, because it is most probable, that the occupation of what was to be the territory of the leading tribe and the centre of the national life, followed hard on the invasion of Canaan and the fall of Jericho : and we may go further and accept the campaign against the northern confederacy of Hazor as the natural sequel to this first successful intrusion. But all this only serves to remind us that the ground we are walking on is at the very best that of shifting conjecture, not of firm historical fact.

So much for events in the centre and north of Palestine : when we move farther south, the position is much more nebulous. The submission of the Gibeonites (Joshua ix) is borne out by later history, and there is no reason to reject the story as entirely fanciful : but it will be observed that there are two versions of it ; or, rather, that one in which Joshua takes the lead (ix, 3-15A, 22-27) is superimposed on one in which the chief actors are " the princes of the congregation " and " the children of Israel " (ix, 15b-21). That this latter is the original is clear from II Samuel xxi, 2, in which it is the children of Israel, not Joshua, who are said to have made the compact. It is clear too from the facts of the case. If the " Joshua " version had been earlier, it would have been impertinent to have treated the " princes " as sharing his leadership, even for the sake of sharing his responsibility for being hoodwinked. If, on the other hand, they already held the field, respect for tradition would leave them in it at whatever cost to consistency. We are justified, therefore, in the suspicion that the story has been antedated by an editor who wished to place the " miracle " in the great leader's lifetime.

Another small piece of evidence seems to confirm this. If the submission of the Gibeonites and the battle of Beth-horon, which arose out of it, took place during the lifetime of Joshua, we should expect to have some account of the capture of the sacred town of Bethel which lay on the plateau between Mt. Ephraim and Gibeon, and was only a few miles north of the latter. Yet so far is this from being the case that we are told of the conquest of Bethel at a much later date, not by Joshua but by " the House of Joseph " (*Judges, i*, 22-25). The obvious inference is that these " bare heights " were only secured to Benjamin by a slow pressure from the north, and that the submission of Gibeon must have been subsequent to the fall of Bethel.

But this is by no means all. If the story of the events which preceded the battle of Beth-horon is open, as it stands, to the gravest doubt, those which are said to have followed it are quite extravagantly unhistorical. No scholar, not even the most conservative, would deny this. The wholesale capture and destruction of great fortresses like Gezer and Lachish simply did not take place, it is an effort of imagination on the part of the Deuteronomic editor. It follows—and this ought to be strongly emphasised—that *he had no early tradition to guide him on this point.* He assumed that so miraculous a victory must have been attended by extraordinary and sweeping successes, which (in his view), could have been nothing less than the complete extermination of the heathen. Actually there is no evidence that it had any results beyond the immediate relief of Gibeon.

To sum up. The available evidence suggests that the submission of Gibeon, and the reaction to it of the Amorites which led to the battle, took place not in Joshua's lifetime but in that obscure period which in Egyptian chronology covers the reigns of Akhenaton, Tutankhamon, and Harmhab, and which except for the " oppression " of the unknown Cushan-rishathaim is left blank in Israelite tradition. No details of the victory survived except the memory of the " supernatural " phenomena which precipitated and completed it : but these of their very nature exercised a compulsive fascination on later editors. That such a miracle should have been vouchsafed to anyone less eminent than Joshua seemed to them impossible ; that it should have borne no further fruit, incredible. They therefore re-wrote the prologue and epilogue of the story as they believed them really to have occurred.

If these conclusions are accepted, they establish a strong probability that the meteorite of Beth-horon and the " thunder-bolt " of Apasas were actually one and the same. It follows then that the battle took place during the reign of Harmhab (1350-1315 B.C.), the Pharaoh who restored Egyptian sovereignty in Palestine after the anarchy into which it had fallen under his two immediate predecessors.

This will explain why, in the description of the Amorite reaction to its loss, Gibeon is called " a great city as one of the royal cities " (*Joshua* x, 2). The " royal cities " must surely have been those like Jerusalem and Lachish which were ruled by a direct representative of the Pharaoh. As it was their security that would be first menaced, so it was their aid which Harmhab would first call upon when he sought to re-establish Egyptian suzerainty over an important " independent " city in the Central Highlands. The combined Amorite assault upon Gibeon thus takes its place historically as an episode in this Pharaoh's schemes of re-conquest.

It failed, not through the prowess of Israel but through what might well seem the terrifying intervention of its God : and it is highly probable, in view both of this and of the exultant memory which Israel retained of it, that the attempt was never renewed.

On the other hand, from Harmhab's point of view, the fastnesses of Mt. Ephraim were not of the first consequence. He still held Jerusalem, Gezer, and the strong fortresses of the Shephelah : above all, he was in complete control of the maritime plain and its highway. Thus the rout of Beth-horon, while it secured to Israel the peaceful possession of the heights of Ephraim and Benjamin, brought no further gains to the victors nor losses to their enemy.

A SEAL OF A SLAVE-WIFE (AMAH)

By N. Avigad (Jerusalem)

Among the Hebrew seals published by Dr. Reifenberg in this Journal (1942, pp. 109 ff., Pl. XIV) there is one, where the reading requires, in my opinion, a slight but far-reaching correction.

The scaraboid seal No. 3 of this group is described as follows: " This seal was bought in Amman and is a transparent chalcedony of light blueish colour; it is 18 mm. long, 7 mm. thick and not pierced. The inscription reads לעליה אשת חננאל = for Alyah, the wife of Hananel ". Dr. Reifenberg reads the middle letter of the second word (which is the first letter of the second register on the seal as ש and adds: " There is a vertical stroke at the beginning of the lower line ".

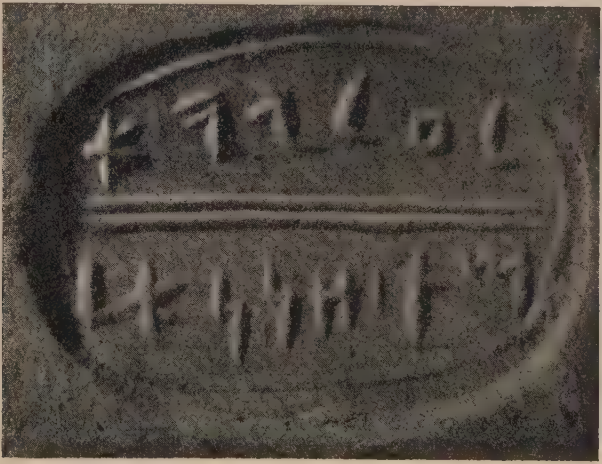

Fig. 1

Seal of a Slave-wife (Amah). (Enlarged print).

As can be seen from the photograph of the seal impression in Fig. 1 it is, however, obvious that this vertical stroke is engraved in the same manner and is of the same character as all the other vertical lines of the letters. It touches the supposed *shin* and is nothing else but the long vertical stem of the letter מ. I was fortunate enough to have been able to convince myself of the correctness of this reading by an examination of the seal itself[1]. The inscription, thus corrected reads : לעליה אמת חננאל = (Belonging) to Alyah the slave-wife of Hananel.

The designation *amah* is so far unique in the epigraphy of Hebrew seals and it adds a new status to the owners of seals, and one of particular interest. *Amah* means female slave, maid-servant or slave-wife, the word being common to all Semitic languages. The Bible designates by this term mainly the slave-wife. In some cases the terms *amah* and *shijḥah* (an inferior maid-servant) interchange. The narratives of the Bible give us ample information on the status of the *amah*. It would take us too far to review the different classes of slave-wives, their legal rights and those of their children in the times of the Patriarchs[2]. The *amah* of this age finds her striking parallel in the *amtu* of ancient Babylonia[3].

The Book of the Covenant knows but one class of *amah*, that purchased from her father for the specific position of a slave-wife. The *amah* is not legally married to her master, but her condition is carefully safeguarded by the law (Ex. XXI, 7–11). " The girl, originally married into slave-wifehood, because she never was a slave, could under no circumstances be either sold or reduced to slavery "[4]. In such a household it could easily happen that a favourite

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[1] My sincere thanks are due to Dr. Reifenberg who very kindly put the seal at my disposal for this purpose and enabled me to prepare an enlarged print of its photograph.

[2] For a detailed study of this subject see : L. M. Epstein, *Marriage laws in the Bible and the Talmud*, Harvard Univ. Press, 1942, Chapter II : Concubinage, pp. 34 ff.

[3] *Code of Hammurabi*, § 144, 146.

[4] Epstein, *ibidem*, p. 60.

amah who bore children to her master, outrivalled the principal wife and rose to the rank of a married woman. Could she under such circumstances be the owner of a seal, considering the fact that she was an unfree person?

Unfortunately, no literary sources or archæological finds throw any light on this subject. Let us therefore consider first the position of the free woman in this respect, and then that of the male slave. We have no information from Biblical records whether or not the Israelite woman had the right to act independently in legal matters. The fact that she was subordinate to her husband would seem to contradict such a suggestion.

Fortunately, we are in possession of a number of seals found in Palestine bearing the legend " X the wife (or daughter) of Y "[1]. Galling[2] takes them for products of the Persian period, the right of women to carry seals being the result of their equality in gentile civil and legal life[3]. For palæographic reasons and judging by the form of the names on those seals, one should hesitate to date them *en bloc* to the Persian period. Some of them[4] certainly belong to the pre-exilic age. We may therefore conclude that the Israelite woman of those times too was allowed to use her own seal.

What was the position of the male slave in this respect? A number of seals found in Palestine bear the legend " X *'ebed* (servant) of Y "[5]. These *'ebed*-seals have been discussed at length by several scholars[6] and they unanimously agree that X represents the name of a royal officer, while Y is the name of the king. Three seals appeared to be exceptions to this rule. In one case, however, the name in position

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[1] D. Diringer, *Iscrizioni antico-ebraiche Palestinesi*, seals Nos. 59–64; Reifenberg in *PEQ*, 1938, p. 115.

[2] *Biblisches Reallexikon*, *s.v.* Siegel.

[3] J. Kohler—A. Ungnad, *Hundert ausgewählte Rechtsurkunden* . . . , Leipzig, 1911, p. 74.

[4] Diringer, *op. cit.*, Nos. 29–31.

[5] *ibidem*, Nos. 65–71, 73; *BASOR* 79, pp. 27 f.

[6] For a brief summary see Albright, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1932, pp. 78 ff.

Y (עמנדב) was identified with the name of an Ammonite king[1], the second one (מתת בן צדקא) with a king of Ascalon[2], and the third seal (אברם) was convincingly proved to be a forgery[3]. Albright remarks: " . . . the word *'ebed* cannot possibly mean 'slave' since slaves were not legally entitled to execute documents in their own names and consequently had no right to carry seals "[4].

This view may hold its ground as long as no seal is found bearing a name in the position of Y which is beyond any doubt *not* that of a king. After all, it would not be too much of a surprise if it did occur, since the Hebrew slave is very often described as trustee of his master's property. Indeed, from Assyrian documents of the seventh century B.C.[5], as well as from Neo-Babylonian sources[6] we learn that slaves were legally entitled to sign documents in their own name and on behalf of their master, and accordingly used their own seals for signature. I have not, however, succeeded in tracing any document referring to similar rights for the Assyrian-Babylonian *amtu* or female slave.

As regards the date of the seal under discussion, the names Alyah and Hananel give no definite hint. The form Al-yah, however, might indicate a post-exilic date[7]. Epigraphy alone is not considered a safe criterion in dating seals, but a palæographical examination of the inscription may prove very helpful in our case.

The distinct vertical tendency of the writing and the particular forms of some of its characteristic letters, *e.g.*, the *'ayin*, *yod*, *heh*, *taw* and the *ḥet* assign them to the Aramaic branch of the Phœnician alphabet. Exactly similar forms of letters occur on Aramaic seals in Mesopotamia.

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[1] Ch. C. Torrey, *AASOR*, Vols. II/III, 1921–22, pp. 103 ff.

[2] A. Bergmann, *JBL*, 1936, pp. 221 ff.

[3] A. Bergmann, *ibidem* ; Galling in his *Bibl. Reallexikon* p. 489 still holds the view that the last two seals belong to private persons.

[4] *JBL*, 1932, pp. 78 ff.

[5] J. Kohler—A. Ungnad, *Assyrische Rechtsurkunden*, Leipzig 1913, p. 452.

[6] J. Kohler—A. Ungnad, *Hundert ausgewälte Rechtsurkunden*, p. 74.

[7] Daiches, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Vo.. XXII (1909), pp. 130 ff. Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen*, p. 105.

The peculiarity of our ‘*ayin* is its distinct square shape, a feature occurring on a Mesopotamian seal dated to the eighth—seventh century B.C.[1] and on another dated to the seventh—sixth century B.C.[2].

The *yod* shows a very peculiar form. The omission of the upper horizontal bar may be explained as a transition to the later Aramaic form, when only the vertical stem and the small bar on its midst is left from the original Phœnician *yod*.

The *heh* with its two horizontal bars instead of the usual three of the corresponding archaic Hebrew letter, appears on an Aramaic seal dated to the sixth century B.C.[3].

The *taw* is characterized by its comparatively long vertical stem and by its short crossline, a common from in Aramaic inscriptions.

The *het* with its single horizontal bar instead of the usual three or two, is a distinct feature in nearly every Aramaic inscription[4].

Another detail which perhaps deserves note, are the small vertical strokes separating the words of the inscription; they can be seen plainly in the photograph. This feature, rare on Hebrew seals, is common to two of the three Aramaic seals cited above[5].

Looking for epigraphical parallels among the seals found in Palestine, I could find no closer than the well-known seal of אדנפלט עבד עמנדב (Adonipelet the servant of ‘Amminadab). The style of its lettering resembles much that of our seal. Of the typical letters discussed above, only the ‘*ayin* appears here. It has the same distinctly square form, not found on Hebrew seals in Palestine. As stated before, ‘Amminadab of this seal is generally identified with “‘Amminadab king of ‘Ammon” mentioned in the annals of the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal as paying tribute to Assyria[1]. The seal, called thereafter the “‘Ammonite seal” is dated to the seventh century B.C. on historic and palæographic grounds and by the style of the Assyrian device carved on it.

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[1] *CIS* II, 76 a. It is noteworthy that this is an Aramaic ‘ *ebed*-seal.

[2] *CIS* II, 90.

[3] *CIS* II, 84. For an isolated example of this form see Diringer, *op. cit.*, seal No. 102 found at Kerak, as noted by Reifenberg. We find the same form of *heh* on seal impressions from Ezion Geber, dated to the eighth century B.C.; cf. *BASOR* 72, 1938, p. 12. A peculiarity of Transjordan?

[4] For this form on Hebrew seals see Diringer, seal No. 103, said to have been bought in Cairo; Sukenik, *Kedem* II, p. 8, No. 3, of unknown provenance.

[5] *CIS* II, 76 a, 84.

Now, it may be recalled that the provenance of our *amah*-seal is ‘Amman. Hence both seals originate from the same region and have much in common. The seal may therefore be dated to the seventh century B.C., although an early sixth century date would not be inconceivable. Naturally we may assume that cultural and legal influences of Assyria were then strong in ‘Amman. The names of the seal are purely Hebrew, whereas the style of the lettering is that current in Mesopotamia.

The difficult problem of how an Israelite slave-wife could possibly be the owner of a seal, might find its solution in the very same background of foreign influences. Considering the fact stated above that both the free woman and the male slave in Mesopotamia had their own seals, it is quite possible that a slave-wife, having once become the main influence in the household, obtained from her master the legal right to carry her own seal[2].

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[1] Ch. C. Torrey, *AASOR*, Vol. II/III, 1921–22, pp. 103 ff., where a good reproduction is published.

[2] Although of a later period, it is interesting to mention a Talmudical tradition, according to which the maid servant of Rabban Gamaliel was addressed as “mother” in a similar meaning as the Roman “matrona”, in token of high respect: “Servants and maid-servants are not called ‘father so and so’ and ‘mother so and so’; those of Rabban Gamaliel were called ‘father so and so’ and ‘mother so and so’. Is this a refutation? No, they were respected” (*Talmud Babli, Berakhot* II, 16 b). I am indebted to Mr. G. Allon of the Hebrew University for drawing my attention to this passage.

Another solution too might be taken into consideration. Let us assume that the master of the *amah* died. The fate of the slave-wife in such a case is described by L. P. Epstein as follows : " We are not informed what happened to her in widowhood. We feel certain that she is not counted among the slaves to be acquired as such by the heir, for reducing her to slavery is impossible even for the master himself. She probably is granted full freedom "[1]. Supposing, however, that the husband left no heirs except minor children by his secondary wife. In that case the slave-wife would become not only free, but would be in effect a wealthy widow. As a free woman she would now certainly be entitled to carry a seal and the fine material and workmanship of the seal under discussion points to the wealth of its possessor.

If so, we have to explain why Alyah, being freed from slavery, still adheres to her denomination " slave-wife of Hananel ". Lidzbarski in his *Ephemeris* II, p. 142 pointed out that on Canaanite and Aramaic monuments mentioning slaves, even the freed slave never attached to his name the name of his father, but that of his former master. This custom, which is later common to the Greeks and Romans, Lidzbarski explains by the fact that the slave grew up in his master's home as a member of the household, and his bonds with his own family were legally severed entirely. According to the Talmud, the Jewish slave has legally no pedigree[2].

Which of the two explanations suggested above : a highly influential position of the *amah* in the household of her master, or her widowhood, is the correct one, may perhaps be revealed by future finds of this or similar kind. Both of them seem to be reasonable, but the last word remains to be said by specialists in matters of ancient jurisprudence.

P.S.—After this paper was sent to press, Dr. Reifenberg kindly informed the writer about a new, unpublished seal which he has recently purchased from a dealer.

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[1] *Marriage laws in the Bible and the Talmud*, p. 59.

[2] עבד אין לו חייס (*Talmud Babli*, *Kidushim*, 69 a).

Surprisingly enough, it represents, as Dr. Reifenberg correctly recognized, another *amah*-seal of the type discussed above. The reading of the word *amath* is beyond any doubt. The style of lettering shows the same characteristic features as observed on the seal of *'Alyah*. Another interesting fact—this seal, too, is said to have been found in Transjordan.

For more details we shall have to wait for the publication of the seal by Dr. Reifenberg.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Life Between Death and Resurrection According to Islam. Inaugural Dissertation by Ragnar Eklund, Uppsala, 1941, pp. vii and 188.

An immense amount of research lies behind this book in which the author sets out the various answers which Muslims have given to the question: What happens to man after death? The subject is summed up in the word *barzakh*, one of the Persian words in the Quran, which is used only thrice and always in the sense of a barrier or obstacle. The canonical traditions of Islam on the subject contain matter drawn from old Arabian folklore, Jewish and Christian beliefs and fancies, as well as what may well be a core of Muhammad's own teaching which has been elaborated and expanded by later thinkers.

It is impossible to mention all the subjects with which the author deals. Parallels with the old Hebrew conception of Sheol and the Roman Catholic doctrine of Purgatory will be found; in many traditions the ancient conception of the relation between soul and body is still active. Is *barzakh* temporal, spatial, or even local? Are infants punished? Where are the dead? All these questions have long been debated by Arabic writers, and Mr. Eklund has set out their answers with great clearness.

The translation into English has been successful, though once or twice I confess I am in a little doubt as to what the sentence means. On p. 13 it would be more exact to translate *al-sama' al-dunya* by "the lowest heaven" rather than "the heaven of this world", and in English we do not write *j* for the *y* sound. But these are mere superficial blemishes on a work of great interest and importance, and one hopes that Mr. Eklund will follow it up with a discussion less detailed and more general in scope which will ensure a larger circle of readers for a work of such value.

A. GUILLAUME.

COLONEL A. M. MANTELL

The death of Colonel Mantell removes the last of Conder's companions in Palestine. Mantell was associated with Conder for only a brief period, and afterwards took no special interest in the archæology of Palestine or in the exploration of that country. But his few months of work under Conder in 1881 were productive of much valuable information which is still of importance.

In 1881 Conder was charged by the Fund with the duty of exploring the territory to the east of Jordan which we now call Trans-Jordan. It is well known how the small party consisting of Conder, Mantell, Armstrong and Black were able to stay in that region for only two months, and how the Turkish governor insisted on their leaving, and how they re-crossed Jordan at the end of October, 1881. But during that short spell they did manage to collect an almost incredible amount of information; surveys covering 500 square miles, archæological memoirs, photographs, copies of inscriptions, lists of place names and ethnographic material, all of which went to fill the quarto volume known as the *Survey of Eastern Palestine*, which everyone who is interested in that country has to reckon with.

The area covered ranges from the eastern shore of the Dead Sea about ten miles from the northern end, in a north-easterly direction to the Wady el Hamman; it included Amman, Hesban and Madeba. An excellent map, printed by Stanford, accompanied the volume; it is on the curious scale of one mile to .37 inch. No doubt this will have been superseded by maps made during the recent wars.

An interesting feature of the book is the space devoted to drawings and descriptions of the rude stone monuments, cairns, stone circles, dolmens and menhirs. Conder made some general remarks on the subject of these pre-historic antiquities, of which about a hundred were drawn. He says that such structures were not found in Western

Palestine, except a few in Galilee. A " peculiarity of these dolmen-fields in Moab consists in the great number of the monuments discovered at each of the centres. In some cases the dolmens nearly touched each other . . . The position of many dolmens . . . is inconsistent with the idea that they were once covered with mounds . . . They stand on bare rock, and have no excavated grave beneath . . . They very rarely occur on hilltops, being usually on the slope . . . There is no orientation . . . Many of these monuments are very small, suitable neither for sepulture nor for a dwelling but better adapted for the purpose of a sacrificial table." The cap stones seem to vary in size from five to ten feet.

In all this work Mantell took an important part. He afterwards served in the Egyptian campaign and was employed in the Intelligence Department in Egypt. From 1902 to 1905 he again served in Egypt. He retired from the Army in 1909, and died on the 25th June, 1946, aged 86.

C.F.A.-C.

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Antiquaries Journal, January–April, 1946.
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Religions, July, 1946.
Scottish Geographical Magazine, April and September, 1946.
Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, LXXVI, 1 and 2.
Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine, Vol. XII, Nos. 3 and 4.
A Handlist of the Birds in Palestine. By Captain Eric Hardy. Published by the Education Officer in Chief, M.E.F.
The Flora and Fauna of the Wady Araba in the Syro-African Rift Valley. By Captain Eric Hardy. M.E. Biological Scheme S.B. 11.

Bulletin of the Jerusalem Naturalists' Club, Nos. 14, 16, 20–33.
Guide to Acre. By N. Makhouly and C. N. Johns. 2nd edition, published 1946 by the Government of Palestine Department of Antiquities.
ΝΕΑ ΣΙΩΝ, 1946.
Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, Vol. 31, 1945.
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Journal of the American Oriental Society, 1946, Nos. 1 and 2. Supplement 5, 1946.
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The Biblical Archaeologist, February and May, 1946.
American Journal of Archaeology, 1946, April and July. Index to Vol. XLIX.
Harvard Theological Review, 1946, January and April.
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Geographical Review of the American Geographical Society, years 1940 to April, 1946.
Bulletin of the University Museum, Philadelphia, June, 1944 and December, 1945.
The Root of all Evil : Special exhibition of Money. By the University Museum, Philadelphia. December, 1945.
Reports of the United States National Museum, 1944 and 1945.
Jewish Quarterly Review, XXXVI, 4.
Annual of the British School at Athens, No. XLI, Sessions 1940–1945.
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Biblica. Vols. 21–26 (1940–1945) and Vol. 27, Nos. 1–3.
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Syria, 1944–1945, Fascs 1 and 2.
Nouvelle Revue Théologique, Avril–Mai 1940, Tome 67, 1945, Tome 68, 1–4 and Tables Générales 1914–1939.

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FOR THE YEAR 1946

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ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1946

THE Committee has to lament the loss of two valued colleagues, Sir Charles Marston and Dr. Paul de Labilliere, late Dean of Westminster. Sir Charles Marston had been a member of the Committee since 1923, the year when the Fund was organizing the first of its recent expeditions to Ophel. Towards the cost of that expedition he made a munificent contribution and he bore the whole cost of two later expeditions in the same area in 1927 and 1928. Since then he assisted excavations at Jericho and Lachish on the same generous scale both with his purse and his pen. His enthusiasm and his passion for the exploration of Palestine never flagged: his passing is a great loss. The Dean of Westminster joined the Committee in 1941: his interest in archaeology was shown in the exhibition of figures from the Abbey at the Victoria and Albert Museum which he did so much to promote; he was a very welcome and helpful attender of our meetings.

Early in the year, at the instance of our late Chairman, Sir Charles Arden-Close, the Air Ministry was approached with a request for a set of photographs of Palestine and Transjordan. A complete coverage of the two countries would be of inestimable value to future travellers and the Ministry expressed its readiness to comply with our wishes but warned us that it might be months before it was possible to make up a set, owing to the pressure of urgent business on a reduced staff.

In the month of May a very valuable gift was received from Professor John Garstang, a complete collection of the plans, drawings, photographs, registers and records of his excavations at Jericho, together with many of the smaller antiquities which had fallen to the excavator's share. It is a precious addition to the archives of Palestinian exploration already belonging to the Fund.

As the war recedes, we are returning gradually to the happier conditions of the past. A sign of reawakening interests is the Prehistoric Congress which is now meeting at Nairobi: the Fund is being represented there by Mr. John Waechter whose prehistoric researches in Transjordan will be known to many. Foreign relations which have been so long interrupted are being renewed: publications that have appeared on the continent during the war have been received and offers of others in exchange for our publications have come from Germany. Two lectures were given in the rooms of the Fund in 1946, one on *New light upon Palestinian civilization* by the Chairman, the other on *The origin of the Hebrews and their relation to the Arabs* by Professor Alfred Guillaume, D.D. Both were very well attended and other lectures have been promised for the coming year. Owing to the continued shortage of paper only two numbers of the *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* will be published in 1947, but it is hoped that they will be on a more generous scale and that soon we may be able to revert to four numbers a year.

The Committee desire to express their thanks to contributors of articles, reviews, etc., to the pages of the *Quarterly*, including the following: "The Threshing Floor at the City Gate," by Sidney Smith; "A Note on the Word Pellaikon," by G. M. FitzGerald; "New Reasoning Concerning the Fortifications of Jerusalem in the First Century A.D." by Capt. C. T. Norris; "The Lachish Ostraca: Professor Torczyner's Latest Views," by D. Winton Thomas," "Some New Seleucid Coins," by Stella Ben-Dor; "The Habiru, The Hebrews, and The Arabs," by A. Guillaume; "Jerusalem in the Lachish Ostraca," by D. Winton Thomas; "Archaeological Activities in Palestine and Transjordan since 1939," by G. E. Kirk; "Was the Corner-Stone of Scripture a Pyramidion," by Edwin E. Le Bas; "A Meteorite of the Fourteenth Century B.C." by Canon W. J. Phythian-Adams; "A Seal of a Slave-Wife (Amah)," by N. Avigad.

The Statement of Receipts and Payments for the year is superficially satisfactory, but this appearance is illusory. The Fund has by no means resumed its pre-war activities and as soon as it does its minimum expenditure will increase considerably. The few developments of the past couple of years have already tended in this direction and in the coming year the tendency must increase. The cost of printing alone has again risen recently. If the *Quarterly* continues therefore only twice a year and in its present size, the expenditure on it, after other commitments are taken into account, will rise by some £100 a year. On the other hand the main source of income—subscriptions and donations—continue to fall. The inevitable loss year by year under this heading is never made good and as time passes must rise at an increasing rate, for the average age of members of the Fund is always rising. In two respects, friends of the Fund can help without any cost and little trouble to themselves—by recruiting new subscribers and by persuading them to enter into covenants and by doing so themselves, so that the Fund may derive benefit of refunded income tax.

Signed on behalf of the Executive Committee, April, 1947.
J. W. CROWFOOT, *Chairman.*
C. B. MORTLOCK, *Hon. Secretary.*

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND, 1946

BALANCE SHEET, 31st DECEMBER, 1946

Liabilities.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Capital :—						
Authorized—200 Shares of £1 each	200	0	0			
Issued—10 Shares of £1 each, not called					—	
Sundry Creditors for Current Expenses				184	2	2
Archaeological Survey of Palestine				31	6	8
Surplus of Assets over Liabilities—						
(Excluding donated property) as per last Balance Sheet	3,255	10	1			
Add : Excess of Income over Expenditure for year	221	4	5			
				3,476	14	6
				£3,692	3	4

Assets.

	£	s.	d.
Freehold Property—Donated—No. 2 Hinde Street (estimated value £5,000)		—	
Alterations and Improvements No 2 Hinde Street, as per last Balance Sheet	1,188	17	5
Museum, Library and Store-room: Fixtures, Fittings, Furniture, etc., as per last Balance Sheet	382	2	7
Jewish Colonial Trust—Donated—50 Ordinary Shares of £1 each, fully paid		—	
Stock of Publications, Maps, Books, Models, Lantern Slides, Library, Antiques, etc.		—	
Sundry Debtors	55	19	1
Subscriptions in Arrear	50	8	0
£1,000 3-per cent. Defence Bonds	1,000	0	0
£50 3-per cent. Savings Bonds, 1955-65 P.O. Issue	50	0	0
Cash at Bank and in Hand*	964	16	3
	£3 692	3	4

* *Note.* Includes £25 donated in 1939, and not yet expended, for the purchase of Committee Table in memory of the late H. Coote Lake, Esq.

J. W. Crowfoot, *Chairman.*
A M. Hyamson, *Hon Treasurer.*

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st DECEMBER, 1946

RECEIPTS.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
To Balance 31st December, 1945		725 19 2
" Subscriptions and Donations, including Local Societies		422 0 1
" Reversionary payment from Estate of the late Rev. Henry Sykes		5 4 2
" Refund of Income Tax on Covenanted Subscriptions		87 3 0
" Sale of Publications		149 3 10
" Rent		394 12 10
" Dividend on £1,000—3 per cent. Defence Bonds	30 0 0	
" Dividend on £50—3 per cent. Savings Bonds	1 10 0	
		31 10 0
		£1,815 13 1

	£ s. d.
Receipts for year, as shown above	1,089 13 11
Less : Arrears of last year's subscriptions, etc., received during 1946	84 19 2
	1,004 14 9
Add : Arrears and Debtors at 31st December, 1946, as shown by Balance Sheet	106 7 1
	£1,111 1 10

PAYMENTS.	£ s. d.
By Printing, including Quarterly, Annual Report, Postages and Despatch	202 3 11
" Editor's fee	50 0 0
" Purchase of books and bookbinding	8 5 6
" Repairs	11 19 4
" Salaries and Wages (including National Insurance)	484 13 9
" Postages and Telephone	29 2 1
" Fire Insurance	7 10 0
" Water Rate, etc.	15 6 0
" Lighting and Heating	21 17 0
" Stationery and Sundries	8 15 9
" Audit Fee	5 5 0
" Lectures	5 2 6
" Cheque books	16 0
	£850 16 10
Balance at 31st December, 1946 : At Bank and in hand	964 16 3
	£1,815 13 1

	£ s. d.
Payments for year, as shown above	850 16 10
Less : Creditors at 31st December, 1945, paid during 1946	145 1 7
	705 15 3
Add : Creditors at 31st December, 1946, as shown by Balance Sheet	184 2 2
	889 17 5
Excess of Income over Expenditure	221 4 5
	£1,111 1 10

AUDITOR'S REPORT TO THE MEMBERS OF THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

We report that we have obtained all the information and explanations we have required as Auditors. We have examined and compared the above Balance Sheet and the Receipts and Payments Account with the books and vouchers of the Fund, and, in our opinion, they are properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the affairs of the Fund, according to the best of our information and the explanations given to us and as shewn by the books of the Fund.

19 COLEMAN STREET,
LONDON, E.C.2.
24 JUNE 1947.

TURQUAND, YOUNGS, MCAULIFFE & CO
Chartered Accountants.

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS

RECEIVED BETWEEN 1st JANUARY AND 31st DECEMBER, 1946, INCLUSIVE

* Asterisks denote covenanted subscriptions

If any omission or mistake be observed in the following lists, the Secretary will be very glad to be informed of it, and will rectify the error in the next Annual Report.

	£	s.	d.
Adler, E. N., Esq. ..	0	10	6
*Alford, Miss M. ..	2	2	0
*Arden-Close, Sir Charles	2	2	0
Ashmole, Prof. B. ..	1	1	0
Ball, Capt. E. W. ..	1	1	0
*Barham, S. P., Esq. ..	1	1	0
*Barnett, Mrs. H. A. Lake	2	2	0
*Barnett, R. D., Esq...	1	1	0
Barron, Mrs.	1	1	0
Bate, Miss D. M. ..	1	1	0
*Bayley, Arthur R., Esq.	2	2	0
Becke, Major A. F. ..	1	1	0
Belmore, The Earl of	1	1	0
*Bentwich, Prof. N. ..	1	1	0
*Berlin, M., Esq. ..	1	1	0
*Birnbaum, Dr. S. ..	1	1	0
Blair, Dr. D. P. ..	1	1	0
Blyth, Miss Estelle ..	1	1	0
*Boulton, W. H., Esq.	1	1	0
Bramwell, W., Esq. ..	1	1	0
Bristow, Ernest, Esq.	2	2	0
Brown, James, Esq. ..	2	2	0
*Bushell, W. F., Esq.	1	1	0
Buxton, Dr. P. A. ..	1	1	0
*Caiger, Rev. S. ..	1	1	0
*Carter, John,Esq. ..	2	2	0
Caullie, Lt.-Col. A. G.	1	1	0
Chalmers-Hunt, D. R., Esq.	1	1	0
Cherrick, Rev. B. ..	1	1	0
Coebergh, Bockhandel	1	1	0
Coleman, Rev. Canon, W. D.	1	1	0
Commissariat of the Holy Land	1	1	0
*Crace, the late Mrs. C. E.	4	4	0
Crawford, L., Esq. ..	1	1	0
Crawford, O. G. S., Esq.	1	1	0
*Crowfoot, J. W., Esq.	1	1	0
Curwen, B. H., Esq.	2	2	0
Curwen, Dr. E. Cecil	1	1	0
Curwen, Dr. Eliot ..	2	2	0
*Daiches, Dr. S. ..	1	1	0
*Davies, Miss A. M. ..	1	1	0
Dirk, Pons & Co.,Messrs.	1	1	0
*Driver, G. R., Esq. ..	2	2	0
Du Boulay, Brig.-Gen. W. H.	1	1	0
Dulau, Mons. P. ..	1	1	0
Earp, J. W., Esq. ..	1	1	0
*Edwards, Rev. A. H.	1	1	0
Evans, E. M. P., Esq.	1	1	0
Falconer, Harold, Esq.	1	1	0
*Filby, F. A., Esq. ..	2	2	0
*FitzGerald, G. M., Esq.	2	2	0
Fothergill, Dr. C. ..	1	1	0
Fouts, Rev. William..	4	18	1
*Frank, Miss Helena ..	2	0	0
Fraser, C. J., Esq. ..	4	4	0
Freshfield, the Misses	1	1	0
Fuller, Rev. R. C. ..	1	1	0
*Gailitis, Miss L. ..	1	1	0
Gamble, Rev. B. H. R.	1	1	0
Gamble, Rev. H. J. ..	1	1	0
*Gardiner, Dr. A. H.	2	2	0
*Garner, Rev. H. ..	1	1	0
Carried forward	£89	6	7

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	£89	6	7
*Garnett, Rev. T. A. ..	1	1	0
*Garstang, Prof. J. ..	2	2	0
Gibson, Mrs. ..	2	2	0
*Glancy, L. M., Esq. ..	2	2	0
Goadby, Dr. F. M. ..	1	1	0
Gold, Mrs.	1	1	0
Gurney, Oliver, Esq.	1	1	0
Haddick, Dr. H. G. K.	1	1	0
Haddick, Rev. J. E. K.	1	1	0
Hammond, Col. F. S.	3	13	6
Harford, Mrs. ..	1	1	0
*Haycraft, Lady ..	1	1	0
*Hindley, Miss R. C.	1	1	0
Hindley, R. T., Esq.	1	1	0
Hinke, Prof. W. J. ..	2	8	7
*Hippisley, Miss E. ..	1	1	0
Hollis, Miss E. ..	1	1	0
*Hollis, Rev. Dr. F. J.	1	1	0
*Hooke, Prof. S. H. ..	1	1	0
Horn, S., Esq. ..	3	13	6
Hutchinson, Rev. J. D.	1	1	0
Hutton, Rev. W. R. ..	1	3	9
*Hyamson, A. M., Esq.	1	1	0
*Johnson, Rev. Lewis	1	1	0
Kenyon, Sir Frederic	2	2	0
*Kenyon, Miss K. M.	1	1	0
Kiewe, H. E., Esq ..	1	1	0
Kirk, Major G. E. ..	1	1	0
Kirkness, W. E., Esq.	2	2	0
Kleinmann, S. M., Esq.	1	1	0
de Labilliere, the late Rt. Rev. Paul F. ..	1	1	0
La Page, John, Esq. ..	1	1	0
Lee of Fareham, Viscount	1	1	0
Libraries—			
Aberdeen University	1	1	0
Adelaide Public Library	1	1	0
Allegheny College ..	1	1	0
Alleyns School ..	1	11	6
Alma College ..	1	1	0
American Academy in Rome	7	7	0
American Philosophical Society	1	1	0
American University Beirut	1	1	0
Amherst College ..	1	1	0
Armagh Library ..	1	1	0
Ashland College ..	1	1	0
Ashmolean Museum	1	1	0
Bangor Theol. Seminary	1	1	0
Berkeley Baptist Divinity School ..	1	1	0
Bibliotheque Nationale	1	1	0
Birmingham Public Libraries	1	1	0
Boston Public Library	1	1	0
Bradford City Library	0	10	6
Bristol Libraries ..	1	1	0
British Columbia, Union College of	1	1	0
Carried forward	£163	5	11

	£	s
Brought forward	£163	5
Brooklyn Inst. of Arts and Sciences ..	1	1
Brown University ..	1	1
Bucknell Library ..	1	1
California University	1	1
Cambridge University Museum	10	0
Carnegie Library, Pittsburg	1	1
Church House, Westminster	0	10
Colgate Rochester Divinity School ..	1	1
Columbia University	1	1
Copenhagen Royal Library	2	2
Cornell University ..	1	1
Dallas Theol. Seminary	1	1
Davidson College ..	1	1
Detroit Public Library	1	1
Duke University ..	1	1
Durham University	2	2
Eastern BaptistTheol. Seminary	1	1
Edinburgh Free Ch. Coll.	1	1
Edinburgh University	2	2
Emmanuel Missionary College	3	3
Groningen University	1	1
Harvard College ..	1	1
Haverford College ..	1	1
Heythrop College ..	0	10
Illinois University ..	1	1
Indiana University ..	2	2
Institut de France ..	1	1
Istanbul University	0	10
Jewish Theol. Seminary	1	1
Jews College ..	0	10
John Rylands Library	1	1
Leeds Library ..	1	1
Leeds University ..	1	1
Leiden University ..	1	1
London University ..	2	2
Los Angeles Public Library	1	1
Louvain, College, Philos. and Theol.	2	2
Lund University ..	1	1
Maayan Library ..	1	1
McCormick Theol. Seminary	1	1
McMaster University	1	1
Manchester University	1	1
Manchester Coll., Oxon.	3	3
Mary Baldwin College	1	1
Metropolitan Museum of Art	1	1
Montreal, Divinity Coll.	1	1
Mount HoylakeColl.	1	1
New College, London	1	1
Carried forward	£231	0

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS

	£	s.	d.
ought forward	£231	0	11
ew York Public Library	1	1	0
Wales, Univ. Coll.	1	1	0
orthwestern University	1	1	0
berlin College	1	1	0
tawa, Parliament Library	1	1	0
abody Institute	1	1	0
etoria University	0	12	6
ueen's University, Belfast	1	1	0
ueen's University, Kingston, Ont.	1	1	0
oyal Asiatic Society	1	1	0
. Andrews Coll.. Newtown, N.S.W.	1	1	0
. Andrews University	1	1	0
. Augustine's College, Canterbury	1	1	0
. Deniol's Library	1	10	0
. Louis Public Library	1	1	0
lly Oak Colleges	2	2	0
nith College	1	1	0
orbonne University	1	1	0
. African Public Library	1	1	0
, Baptist Theol. Seminary	1	1	0
. Wales, University College	6	6	0
pence Library	1	1	0
rassbourg University	1	1	0
ydney Public Library	1	1	0
oronto, Victoria University	1	1	0
nion Theological Seminary	1	1	0
.S.S.R. (per Wm. Dawson Ltd.)	2	2	0
anderbilt University	1	1	0
ictoria Institute, The	1	1	0
ictoria (Aust.) Public Library	1	1	0
alla Walla College	2	2	0
ellesley College	1	1	0
estern Theol. Seminary	1	1	0
estminster Theol. Seminary	1	1	0
eston College, Mass.	2	2	0
eston-super-Mare Library	1	1	0
r. Williams Library	2	2	0
innipeg Theological College	1	1	0
isconsin University	1	1	0
ale University	1	1	0
ion Research Library	1	1	0
ionist Organization	2	2	0
ondon, S., Esq.	1	1	0
acalister, Dr. R. A. S.	1	1	0
cClellan, Rev. W. H.	1	3	10
cCown, Prof. C. C.	2	11	10
cLean, Dr. C. F.	1	1	0
arried forward	£293	13	1

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	£293	13	1
Maher, S. A., Esq.	2	2	0
*Marmorstein, E., Esq.	1	1	0
*Martin, Henry, Esq.	1	1	0
Matthew, H. M., Esq.	1	1	0
Mayer, Dr. H. M. Z.	1	1	0
Mitchell, F. E., Esq.	1	1	0
Morrell, C., Esq.	0	10	6
*Morris, Rev. W. R.	1	1	0
*Mortlock, Rev. C. B.	1	1	0
Moysey, C. F., Esq.	1	1	0
Mozley, Rev. Canon. J K.	1	1	0
Nathan of Churt, Lord	1	1	0
Neve, Rev. A. O.	1	1	0
*Newcombe, Col. S. F.	1	1	0
*Newman, E. W., Esq.	1	1	0
*Noel, Mrs. Ernest	1	1	0
Noord-Noording Boekhandel	5	5	0
Norwich, the Dean of	1	1	0
*Oesterley, Rev. Dr. W. O. E.	1	1	0
*Parfit, Rev. Canon J. T.	2	2	0
Palestine Potash Ltd.	4	4	0
Parkminster, Rev. Prior of	1	1	0
Parrott, Dr. H. Winnock	1	1	0
Peake, Col. F. G.	1	1	0
Pearce, H. W., Esq.	1	1	0
Perowne, Stewart, Esq.	2	2	0
Pirie, Gordon, H., Esq.	2	2	0
Read, Pastor W. E.	1	1	0
Richards, Miss K. D.	3	3	0
Richmond-Brown, R., Esq.	1	1	0
Robbers, Messrs Jacs., G.	4	4	0
*Robertson, Prof. E.	1	1	0
Rosenthal, H., Esq.	1	1	0
*Roth, Dr. Cecil	1	1	0
*Rowley, Rev. H. H.	1	1	0
Rowton, Major B.	1	1	0
*Salaman, Dr. R. N.	1	1	0
*Salmon, Col. F. J.	1	1	0
Scheyer, Dr. Kurt	1	1	0
*Schubeler, Mrs.	1	1	0
Skeat, Walter, Esq.	1	1	0
*Shepstone, H. J., Esq.	1	1	0
*Sloan, Mrs.	1	1	0
Smith, Bishop M. Linton	1	1	0
Smith, W. H. & Son	4	4	0
Smothers, Rev. Fr. E.	1	1	0
*Staplyton, Alan, Esq.	1	1	0
Stewart, James R., Esq.	1	1	0
*Terrill, F., Esq.	1	1	0
Tervit, Adam, Esq.	1	1	0
Thomas, Prof D. Winton	1	1	0
*Truro, The Bishop of	1	1	0
*Tufnell, Miss O.	1	1	0
Waechter, John, Esq.	2	2	0
*Walsh, A. St. G., Esq.	1	1	0
Warde-Aldam, Col. W. St. A.	1	1	0
Watson, Mrs. E. Gordon	1	1	0
Welander, D. C. St. V., Esq.	1	1	0
Were, Miss	0	5	0
*Weston, Rev. F. G.	1	1	
Carried forward	£376	6	7

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	£376	6	7
White, W. E., Esq.	1	1	0
Widdowson, B. C., Esq.	4	4	0
*Wilson, Dr. T. Stacey	1	1	0
Winterbotham, A., Esq.	1	1	0
*Wylie, R. W., Esq.	1	1	0
	£384	14	7

EDINBURGH

Hon. Local Sec.

Prof. N. Porteous

	£	s.	d.
Bonar, Mrs.	1	1	0
Edinburgh Public Library	1	1	0
Kennedy, Prof. A. C.	0	10	6
New College Library	1	1	0
*Porteous, Prof. N.	1	1	0
	£4	14	6

GLASGOW

Hon. Local Sec.

Rev. John Mauchline

Hon. Local Treasurer.

W. Patrick Mitchell, Esq.

	£	s	d.
Blair, Archibald, Esq.	1	1	0
Forrester, Rev. Dr. D.	1	1	0
Maclay, Lord	1	1	0
Mauchline, Prof. J.	1	1	0
Mitchell, Sir George	1	1	0
Mitchell, W. Patrick, Esq.	1	1	0
Pettigrew, Miss	1	1	0
*Stevenson, Rev. Prof. W. B.	1	1	0
Trinity College	1	1	0
Weir, Rev. Prof. C. J.	1	1	0
	£10	10	0

PALESTINE

Hon. Local Sec.

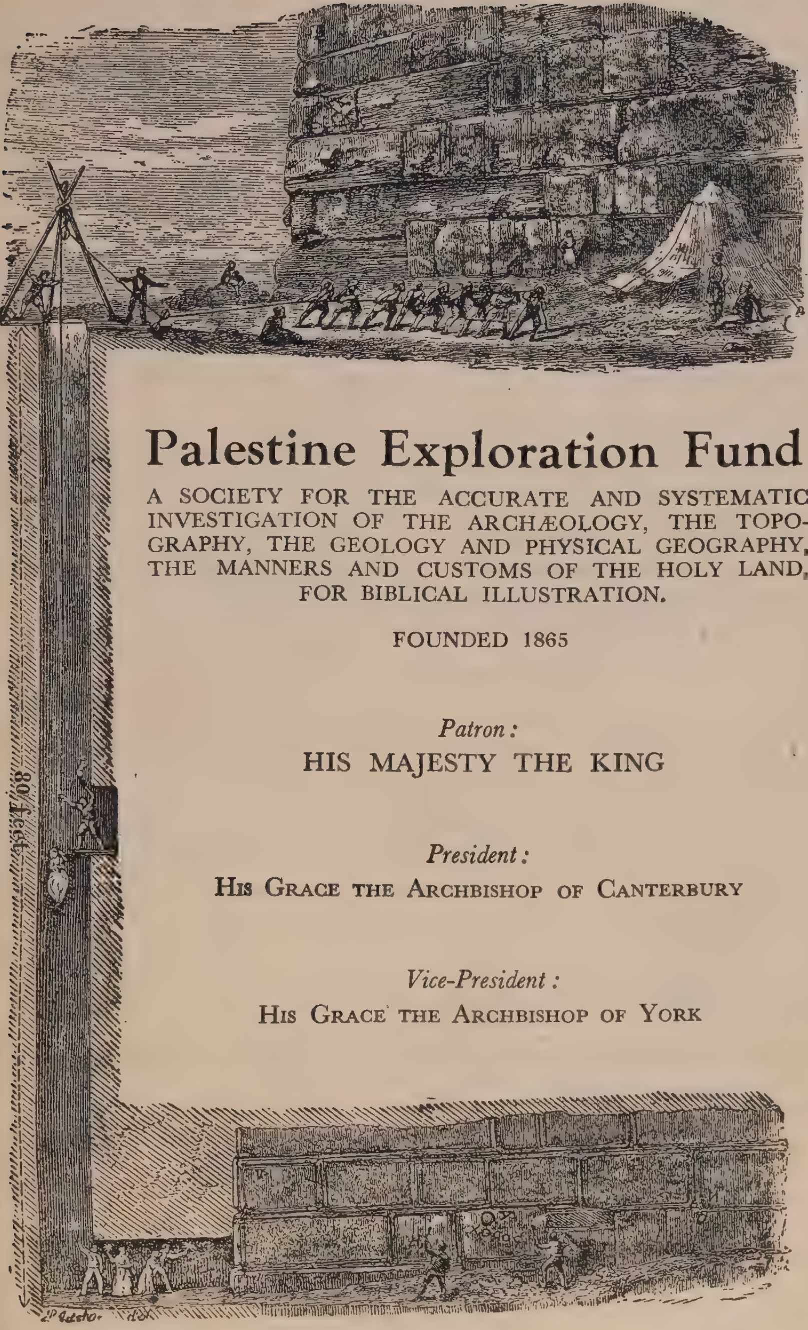
C. N. Johns, Esq.

	£	s.	d.
Armenian Patriarch, The	1	1	0
Evans, C. T., Esq.	1	1	0
Harding, G. L., Esq.	2	2	0
*Hulbert, Miss E.	1	1	0
Kopp, Dr. C.	1	1	0
MacInnes, Archdeacon A. C.	4	4	0
Mayer, Prof. L. A.	1	1	0
MacInnes, Mrs.	1	1	0
Pontifical Biblical Institute	1	1	0
Stewart, Rt. Rev. Bishop W. N.	1	1	0
Ubach, Rev. Bonaventure	7	7	0
	£22	1	0

SUMMARY OF SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS

	£	s.	d.
General List	384	14	7
Edinburgh	4	14	6
Glasgow	10	10	0
Palestine	22	1	0
	£422	0	1

CHISWICK PRESS., LONDON N.II



Palestine Exploration Fund

A SOCIETY FOR THE ACCURATE AND SYSTEMATIC INVESTIGATION OF THE ARCHÆOLOGY, THE TOPOGRAPHY, THE GEOLOGY AND PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY, THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE HOLY LAND, FOR BIBLICAL ILLUSTRATION.

FOUNDED 1865

Patron:
HIS MAJESTY THE KING

President:
HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

Vice-President:
HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

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Hon. Secretary—Rev. C. B. Mortlock, F.S.A.

Miss Estelle Blyth.
Sir Charles Arden-Close, K.B.E., C.M.G., F.R.S.
Prof. Stanley A. Cook, Litt.D., F.B.A.
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Rev. Canon H. Danby, D.D.
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G. M. FitzGerald, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.
Prof. J. Garstang, M.A., D.Sc., F.S.A.
Prof. S. H. Hooke, M.A., B.D., F.S.A. (*Editor*).
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Miss Kathleen Kenyon, F.S.A.
Prof. Sir John L. Myres, D.Litt., M.A., F.B.A.
Col. S. F. Newcombe, D.S.O.
F. J. Salmon, Esq., C.M.G., M.C.
Miss Olga Tufnell
Prof. D. Winton Thomas, M.A.

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PALESTINE EXPLORATION QUARTERLY, JANUARY–APRIL, 1947

THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

NOTES AND NEWS

British School of Archæology in Jerusalem. The General Meeting of Subscribers was held at 2, Hinde Street on November 21, 1946 when Sir Frederic Kenyon, President and Chairman of the Council, presided. Proceedings were of a formal nature including the adoption of the Council's Report and Accounts for the two years 1944/45 and 1945/46 (since circulated to the Subscribers), and the election of the Officers and Council.
The Meeting was followed by a P.E.F. lecture, given by Professor Alfred Guillaume on " The Origin of the Hebrews and their relation to the Arabs ".

Readers of this Journal and subscribers to the Fund will be glad to know that the publication of the results of the excavation of the Tell ed-Duweir site by the late J. L. Starkey is to be resumed. Two volumes have already appeared, under the auspices of the Wellcome-Marston Archæological Research Expedition, and in order to compile a complete bibliography the editor would be glad to know of all articles and other published references to the archæological and linguistic material from the site, particularly those in foreign publications. Copies of extracts would be gratefully received wherever possible, or a full reference and short summary of the contents. They should be sent to The Expedition, Institute of Archæology, Inner Circle, Regent's Park, London, N.W.1.

Another sign of the slowly reviving international relationship between Old Testament scholars, so long and grievously interrupted, was the first international meeting since 1939 of the Society for Old Testament Study, held in Cardiff in September of last year. It was attended by many distinguished scholars from France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, most of whom contributed valuable papers on various aspects of Old Testament study. A happy feature of the meeting was the presentation to the President of the Society, Professor T. H. Robinson, of the Royal Society's Medal for Biblical Studies, a well-merited honour. In addition to his numerous valuable contributions to Old Testament scholarship, no man has done more to promote friendly relations and co-operation between British Old Testament scholars and their colleagues on the continent.

Another token of reviving life has been the welcome resumption of afternoon lectures at the Rooms of the Fund at 2, Hinde Street. Lectures have already been given by the Chairman, by Professor Guillaume, published in our last issue, and by Professor Driver. The latter gave an interesting lecture on the recently discovered Aramaic documents, concerning which we hope to be able to publish some information later. Other lectures have been arranged for the rest of the session and will be announced in due course in the public press.

Readers who use the Fund's library will be glad to know that the issues of *Syria* published during the war and hitherto unobtainable are now available. Professor C. Virolleaud has steadily pushed on with his herculean task of publishing the remainder of the Ras Shamra texts and has now given to the world much new material, including further instalments of the famous Keret and Danel texts. These new texts are no less difficult than their predecessors and will provide abundant material for the study and disputations of scholars. The new volumes, and especially the reviews they contain, bear witness to the indefatigable labours and vast scholarship of that veteran French scholar M. René

Dussaud whose recent attainment of his 70th year was celebrated by the publication of a volume of essays and studies in his honour by a large number of scholars. His activities show no diminution in mental vigour or width of interest. *Floreat in aevo.*

In *Biblica*, vol. 27, pt. 4, there is a review by R. P. A. Vaccari of a book also concerned with a Ras Shamra problem, namely *Danel*, "*the Wise Patriarch*", in Italian, by R. P. B. Mariani. The book deals with the question of the identification of the Danel of the Ras Shamra texts with the Daniel (also read Danel according to some Hebrew MSS.) of Ezekiel. The fact that in Ezekiel Daniel is coupled with Noah and Job, figures of early Hebrew tradition, together with the well-known fact that apocalyptic books were habitually assigned to some ancient Hebrew worthy, had already suggested that the Daniel of Ezekiel was, like Noah and Job, a figure of early Hebrew tradition. Hence, the appearance of Danel in the Ras Shamra texts quickly led to the identification of the two figures. The greater part of Mariani's book is devoted to the examination of this question, and concludes with a reservation of judgment on the point. In the same issue of *Biblica* there is a review of Professor Kramer's recent labours on the Enki and Ninhursag text. On the first reading of an imperfect form of this text Langdon's book *Le Poème Sumérien du Paradis, du Déluge et de la Chute de l'Homme* was based. As has often happened, further discoveries and a better knowledge of the text have led to the demolition of an earlier position, and in this case Professor Kramer's studies have shown that the text has nothing to do either with Paradise, the Deluge, or the Fall. Nevertheless the myth yields some most interesting and surprising results. The full publication of Professor Kramer's translation of and commentary on the text will be awaited with eagerness.

In the *Revue Biblique* for April, 1946, there is an interesting review by R. P. Abel of an important book by Professor

Liebermann entitled *Greek in Jewish Palestine.* Professor Liebermann shows that Greek was far more studied in Jewish circles of the 2nd to the 4th centuries A.D. than has hitherto been commonly supposed. We are told that in the house of Rabban Gamaliel, at the beginning of the 2nd century A.D., 500 young persons were engaged in Greek studies. The celebrated Rabbi Judah Hannasi, the son of Gamaliel, did not hesitate to say ; why speak the language of Syria (i.e. Aramaic) in Palestine? Let people speak either Hebrew or Greek ’. It is of course well known that the study of the LXX was banned, owing to its use in early Christian propaganda. But apparently other Greek versions, such as those of Aquila and Symmachus, were not forbidden. Although in the synagogues of Palestine prayers were recited in Hebrew and Aramaic, on the coast, *e.g.*, in Caesarea, the *Shema* was recited in Greek. The author also produces evidence from Palestinian archæology, in that many of the epitaphs on tombs and ossuaries, *e.g.*, from Jaffa and Beth-shearim, are in Greek. The book is clearly of considerable importance for biblical students. The same issue also contains a valuable article by R. P. George on *Sins against Yahweh in the books of Samuel* ; an illustrated article by R.P. Ubach on an expedition to the deserts of Engedi, Zif, and Maon, haunts of David during his wanderings ; and a continuation of R. P. R. de Vaux’s useful and instructive notes on Palestinian archæology and topography.

An addition to the ever-increasing mass of Ugaritic studies is a learned monograph by Professor Julius Obermann published as a supplement to the JAOR and entitled *How Daniel was Blessed with a Son.* It is based on a fresh study of those tablets relating to the legendary figure of Danel published in *Syria* by Professor Virolleaud. The main concern of the tablets seems to be the birth and fate of Danel’s son, Aqhat ; and Professor Obermann raises the question whether the scribe of the tablets had not intended them to be known by the title ‘ Concerning Aqhat ’, or ‘ Belonging to (the narrative of) Aqhat ’. The point is of nterest to students of the Old Testament in connection with the titles of the Psalms. Professor Obermann points out that the Ugaritic scribes were in the habit of putting a title at the head of each tablet, *e.g.*, to the tablets dealing with the acts of Baal was prefixed the title *l b'l*, and to the ablets with which this monograph deals there was similarly prefixed the title *l aqht*. Hence it is clear that the *lamedh* n so many titles of Hebrew psalms cannot be, as was once upposed, the *lamedh* of authorship. It might perhaps be uggested that the Ras Shamra scribe intended to indicate hat the tablet so designated belonged to the Baal series or the Aqhat series of tablets, which would support the generally accepted interpretation of the Hebrew *lamedh* as ndicating that the particular psalm belonged to the collection or series designated by the name of David or Asaph, as the case might be.

The *Biblical Archæologist* for December, 1946, contains an interesting, well-documented, and well-illustrated account f *Slavery in the Ancient East*, which should be of great value o teachers and to Bible students in general.

The *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* or December, 1946, contains much matter of interest. Professor Kramer reports on the work in which he is at present engaged in the Istanbul Museum, namely the arduous and important task of bringing together all the Nippur material, the major part of which is now to be found at the Istanbul Museum and the University Museum in Philadelphia. Already much new light has been thrown on the Gilgamesh Epic and on the myth of Enki and Ninhursag ; and now Professor Kramer is at work on the Enmerkar ' tablet, an abbreviated and provisional sketch of whose contents is given in this issue of the BASOR. There is also an article by Professor Glueck on some Chalcolithic sites in northern Gilead. He concludes from his finds there, that no time lag existed between the establishment of Chalcolithic settlements in the hill-country of

Transjordan and Palestine and those which developed i
the Jordan Valley or along the Coastal Plain. In the sam
issue there is a discussion of some late-Mycenaean and oth
late-Bronze vases from Djett in Palestine. This site h
been identified by Alt and Jirku with the Amarna town
Ginti-Kirmil ('Gath-Carmel'), but Professor Albrig
who previously favoured this identification, now inclines
identify it with another Amarna town, Gitipadalla, t
residence of a Canaanite prince mentioned in the Amarn
Letters, whose territory adjoined that of Milki-ilu, to t
south of Lab'aya.

The July issue for 1946 of the *Journal of Near Eastern Stud*
contains an interesting article by Professor Goetze
Number Idioms in Old Babylonian ; Professor Feigin propos
a new meaning for the designation of Issachar in the Blessi
of Jacob as a 'strong' ass, crouching down between tw
burdens. The Hebrew word translated 'strong' usuall
means 'bony', a meaning which is given in the R.
margin. But the meaning 'strong' does not seem
accord with the submissive posture of Issachar, symbolizi
the submission of that tribe to the Canaanite inhabitan
of northern Palestine. Hence Professor Feigin would fi
in another meaning of the root *grm* the suggestion that t
text should read '*a castrated* ass', explaining the submissi
attitude of Issachar lying among the sheep.

Notice. Professor Peter Thomsen, D.D., Ph.D., who h
published a bibliography of Palestinian Literature in fi
volumes comprising the publications of the years 1895
1934, is now preparing a sixth volume for the years 1935
1944, and would be much obliged to foreign scholars a
editors for a short communication (with Bibliographic
dates : title, number of pages, tables, price) about pub
cations relating to Syria and Palestine issued in the yea
1939-1944. If he receives books or pamphlets themselv
he will be able to amplify the entry in the bibliography wi
exact and detailed indications of the contents (Addres
10A, Dresden A.21, Eisenacher Strasse 29, II, Germany)

HASMA

By Sir A. S. Kirkbride and Lankester Harding

The following notes embody the results of a brief survey f the Rum and Kweireh districts of the Hasma, which name s applied to the stretch of country bordered on the north y the scarp of the Ma'an plateau, on the west by the range f hills on the edge of the Wady Arabah, and extending o Medowwereh in the east and an undefined distance south. Ten days were spent at Rum and nine at Kweireh : most f the travelling was done on camels. The survey makes no claim to be exhaustive in any direction, and is intended ather to give an indication of what may be found by a eally thorough examination of the area. A complete xploration and record of Wady Rum alone would require month. It is hoped that the material presented may be of ufficient interest to encourage a really comprehensive urvey some time in the future.

Wady Rum. So great is the scenic magnificence of this uge valley, graphically described by T. E. Lawrence in he Seven Pillars of Wisdom[1] that the details which go to make up the general effect are completely absorbed in the vastness of the whole. The eyes are drawn to the rugged mountain tops and to the vistas of broad valleys, and that which is immediately at the feet is unseen. The many nscriptions and remains of all periods which are scattered along both sides of the valley have so far remained unnoticed, xcept for the obvious Nabataean temple and inscriptions at Jebel Rum, examined and published some years ago[2].

Starting from the northern end of the valley, the following new features were noted :

---

[1] Chap. LXII.

[2] Revue Biblique, Oct., 1932, July, 1933, Oct., 1934, April, 1935.

A short distance below Khashm Musmar is a sma apparently circular grave, at the head (east) end of which is flat stone slab with a few lines of Kufic inscription. Strangel the inscription faces away from the grave, and the stone h leaned outwards so that the writing is now almost facin the ground. It was not possible to photograph or to cop it, and in any case it is still partly buried. A little farth south is a bay in which are a few very rough stone e closures (?) : no date or purpose can be suggested for them

Almost opposite, on the western side of the valley, the Wady Leyyah in which are a great number of Thamoud inscriptions[1]. Judging from the quantity, this wady seen to have been a popular camping ground : there must b very many more which we did not observe, as only tho were copied which happened to be on our direct rout Ancient caravans may have been using the pass which lea from the Wady Leyyah, between Jebels Rum and Hubeir into Wady Rumman, a short cut to Kweireh. We were n able to examine the corresponding wady on the west by whic access to Rumman is obtained.

About half a kilo south of the mouth of the Leyyah, an about a third of the way across the valley bed, is a strang construction corresponding to two at the southern end the valley. These very puzzling remains consist, in th case, of a single row about 60 metres long, of small ston circles with a large circle (?) not quite centrally place A few metres north are traces of a small rectangular stru ture, while to the west is a double circle of stones : this latt may have no connection with the rest. The row stretch across the valley, *i.e.*, east and west, but does not even reac to half way across : the small circles are irregularly space and aligned, and are mostly made of seven or eight moderat size stones laid in radiating fashion. From the evidenc of the southern examples the date must be Nabataean, but wh purpose it served, either as a whole or in parts, it impossible to guess. The southern ones are more full described as being far better examples.

---

[1] To be dealt with in a separate paper.

On the western side of the valley, between here and Jebel Rum, a number of enclosures of various kinds were observed, but this stretch was not examined closely.

Returning to the eastern side, the mountain range of which is called Jebel Um Ashreen, there is a series of small bays in the cliff face where minor torrents flow into the main valley. At a point a short distance south of the structure just described is a large boulder in one of these bays, the boulder being called Dims Hajaj, on which are a few Thamoudic inscriptions; in the bay to north of Dims Hajaj are more similar inscriptions, also on a boulder. Nothing of interest was observed between Dims Hajaj and the bay-called Mukmal el Jaheleen[1], where there are several inscriptions and drawings on boulders at both the northern and southern points of the bay. Commencing in the bay near its southern point, and extending along the foot of the cliff to the next bay south, is a great series of paved enclosures, probably some 200 or more at this particular point.

These constructions consist of a single course "wall" of boulders and undressed stones enclosing an area which is paved with flat slabs, also of undressed stone. In the centre of each enclosure is one squarish stone set upright, and in the middle of the back (east) wall is another upright stone, though in the latter case there are sometimes two or three stones. The enclosures are of various shapes, square, rectangular, and circular, all somewhat amorphous; sometimes two or three are joined together sometimes there is a group of 20 or more. They are mostly situated on the slopes at the foot of the cliff, but occasionally are found in the flat valley bed, though never far from the cliff. The orientation along the uprights is roughly east and west, but varies between 105 and 130 degrees in those which were observed. The largest group is at Mukmal el Jaheleen, (Pl. 11, Fig. 1) but similar enclosures were seen in the bay opposite Rum fort, at intervals along the foot of the eastern cliff to its southern end (Taraif Merar), and a large group just to the east of Ain Mereifiq. There are no surface sign whatever to give a clue to their date, except that in som cases large boulders have fallen into them from the clif and have had Thamoudic inscriptions scratched on them so that a pre-Thamoudic date is strongly suggested. Like wise their purpose remains a mystery: the upright stone suggest Dusharas, in which case they may be private chapel in the holy valley, or they may be some elaborate forn of grave, with the burial somewhere under the paving In any case, a practical domestic use seems out of th question, in view of (*a*) the upright stones, (*b*) the slope o most of the enclosures, (*c*) their contiguity in group (dwellings, except in towns, are always isolated affairs), and (*d*) the wall has never been more than one course high. I also seems unlikely that tents were pitched in them.

---

[1] The name might be Mukman (ambush) el Jaheleen.

The name of the place, Mukmal el Jaheleen, seems a first glance highly pertinent, but it refers merely to th Jaheleen tribe who inhabited the neighbourhood in quit recent times.

At the northern end of the bay opposite Rum fort on a little hillock, are remains of a small rectangular building, constructed of blocks with the characteristic 45 deg Nabataean dressing: there are no surface indications o the purpose of this building. In the middle of the bay are more Thamoudic inscriptions on boulders, and als at the southern end. A short distance to the south is cairn grave which has at some time been partly opene revealing the method of construction. There are thre concentric circles of rough retaining walls with a rectangular grave in the centre, covered with narrow slab of stone: the spaces between the walls are filled with loos rubble which was originally piled over the grave as well forming a hemispherical cairn. It is now a shapeless pil of stones.

Between here and the southern end of the wady, onl a few paved enclosures were noted, though there may b inscriptions which escaped detection. At the south extremit of Um Ashreen, called Teraif Merar, are a great number o circular cairns and enclosures, all of which appear to be graves. There are also Thamoudic writings on a boulder, and one brief inscription on the headstone of a grave, unfortunately quite unintelligible. And indeed many of these cemeteries and isolated burials may well be Thamoudean or Safaitic : there seems no need to postulate either a prehistoric or a modern Arab origin for them. Perhaps the excavation of a few would settle the point.

About half a kilo west-north-west from this point are the strange Nabataean structures already mentioned (Pl. II Fig. 2, Pl. III Figs. 1 and 2 and text Fig. 1). Here there are two

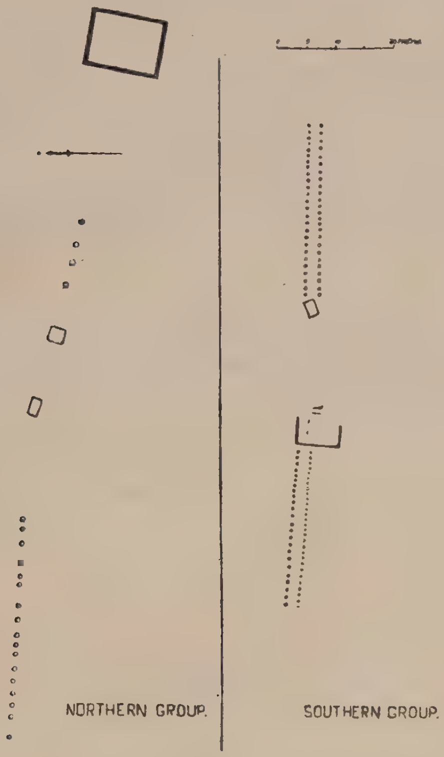

FIG. 1

Wady Rum : Plan of Nabataean structures

groups of the little circles and buildings, not exactly behind each other, the northern group being nearer the east side of the valley. There is a distance of 250 metres (obliquely) between them. The north group consists of two single lines of circles with small rectangular structures between, and a large rectangular structure a short distance to the east. The south group has two double rows of circles with rectangular buildings between. It must be noted that in each example, including the northern one, stones have at some time been arranged in a large circle between the two rows, but it is only very roughly done and appears to be later than the rest of the work. The area inside the circle forms a slight depression. The same feature occurs in the dam at Bir Rum el Atiq. The rectangular constructions seem to be a podia of some kind, for the walls are but one stone thick with the well dressed face out the space enclosed being filled with sand and rubble. The circles of the north group, are larger than those of the south, but both are made of rough undressed stones. The moulded block, found by the south group, suggests a first or second century date, as was to be expected of such definite Nabataean constructions in this area.

These, though better specimens than the northern one, still give no hint of their purpose : that they are not solely utilitarian is suggested by the moulded block and the podia. Their position at the north and south entrances to Rum suggest that they had something to do with approaching the holy place. It is improbable they had anything to do with water or damming : there is no water near and no possibility of a well. Here is ample scope for speculation.

In the south-eastern face of Jebel Rum, at a point opposite Taraif Merar, are two small springs called Ain Mereifiq and Ain Abu Nekheileh. At the south of the gorge below the former is a large boulder with some long Thamoudic inscriptions, also a few paved enclosures of the Mukmal el Jaheleen type. At the foot of the cliff below the found latter is a small, partly artificial, mound, on which were considerable numbers of flint arrow heads and other implements[1]. The site itself is roughly circular, about 100 metres in diameter, and the foundations of many buildings, rectangular and circular, can be seen. There is only one course left of most of these walls, and some are clearly later than the flints for the black domestic deposit runs under them. This deposit may be 40—50 cms. in its deepest part, but a lot must have been washed away in the course of time.

The presence of walls, depth of deposit, and quantity of implements, indicate a permanent settlement of some size lasting for a considerable period. The situation is well chosen, standing as it does over the junction of five wadies, Rum, Khor Um Ashreen, Khor el Ajram, El Khweimilat, and Qattar, and having at its back a permanent supply of water which could not be touched by an enemy who had not already captured the settlement. The water, as is the case with all springs in this neighbourhood, seeps out between the granite and the sandstone, which at this point is about 25 metres above the settlement level. The flow is constant, if not very strong : a little work would no doubt make it much stronger.

Between here and the bay of Jebel Rum a few paved enclosures were noted, but the area was not very closely examined. In the Rum bay all the springs were visited ; there are seven main ones, named from south to north :—

Shellaleh. With Nabataean inscriptions and buildings[2].

Abu Shleilieh. Nothing to note at the two springs.

El Wujeihat. There are four small springs of this name.

Abu Remeileh. Consists of three springs. On the rock terraces above the main spring are the remains of walls and buildings and quantities of sherds ; a rock-cut channel leads from this spring to a ruined masonry cistern.

Abu Aimeh. Two springs, one of which has an artificially cut niche and water channels in the rock face.

Mugheireh. Stone troughs near two springs.

Sabagh. Stone aqueduct leads to a masonry cistern.

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[1] See note by Dr. Stekelis, p. 25.

[2] See Revue Biblique, July, 1933 and Oct., 1934.

The only new discoveries were the buildings at Abu Remeileh and a Nabataean mason's mark on one of the column drums in the temple, (second drum from the base of column 2 in the plan of Horsfield and Savignac[1].) Whichever way up it is looked at, neither of the letters bears much resemblance to a Nabataean "Yod": one might be a "Shin" but the other is extremely doubtful. At any rate, it seems to dispose of the suggestion put forward by Savignac and Horsfield. It is interesting to note how a small rectangle has been smoothly dressed to take letters.

Using Rum as a centre, brief expeditions were made to Ain Rumman, Ain Qattar, Khaz Ali, El Barra, and Bir Rum el Atiq.

The route followed to Ain Rumman was south to the end of Wady Rum, west through El Kheweimilat, and so into Wady Rumman. Nothing of interest was observed on the way, except that at the mouth of a small valley opposite the Ain Rumman cleft are a few cairns. The spring lies a considerable distance up the cleft, and appears to seep, as usual, from between the granite and the sandstone. It is the strongest spring in this neighbourhood, and ends, after a long series of cascades and pools, in a fine pool about seven metres across. We did not see the actual spring, which is at least 500 metres away from this pool. The granite bed tilts steeply from west to east, and the top of it is here some 100 metres or more above the valley floor: the climb to get to the water is quite a steep one. The Wady Rumman represents a fault in the granite, and on its west side there is only sandstone. But from here it rises so steeply to the west that in the Wady Ithm there is only granite.

Guarding the entrance to the cleft, on a small hill, traces of walls were seen, but were not examined, so the date is unknown. The return journey to Rum was made without re-entering Wady Rumman, by climbing a steep neqeb up the north face of the cleft, over the shoulder between Jebels Hubeira and Rum, and so into Wady Leyyah and Rum.

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[1] See Revue Biblique, April, 1935, p. 6 and pl. VIII.

The whole question of the plan and reconstructions of the Rum temple should be reconsidered in the light of the Khirbet Tannur excavations, to which temple it bears a close resemblance. Many important points such as re-buildings, original plan, late additions, are not noted in the Revue Biblique, in fact, the excavation is really only half done.—L.H.

At Ain Qattar are several water holes which have been almost buried by falls of rock : they are all narrow and difficult to get at, but have a constant flow. Two Thamoudic inscriptions are on the rock-face above the most southerly hole.

On the slopes below the spring were found some flint implements, but no indication of any settlement. There is also a modern Arab cemetery, the graves of which are of some interest. A low, crescent-shaped wall of stones is built on the north side of each grave only, in order, we were informed, to protect the occupant from the north wind, In a year's time, they said, the wall is built up all around, but as all the graves observed had walls on the north side only, we can only assume that everyone died together within the last year ! But perhaps the most interesting feature is the group of three stones erected in front of the grave to the south : it calls to mind the stones in front of the Beni Murra graves[1]. Sometimes a branch of white broom is stuck in between these stones.

On a rise about a kilo to the north of the springs, beside the car road, is a large boulder called Wujh el Qattar covered in Thamoudic scrawls. Beside it are the ruins of a little square fort-like building, probably a Nabataean watch house, for from it is commanded a view of all the southern approaches to Rum. There is a similar building at the north end of the valley, beside the car road, just where it first enters the Wady.

At Khaz Ali rain water collects in small pools in a cleft on the north face of the massif, and on the walls of the cleft are many Thamoudic and Kufic inscriptions, as well as drawings of animals and humans. The drawings would appear to be Thamoudic, from the fact that one of them seems to have a name beside it[1] : other cases where drawings of animals are accompanied by inscriptions are JS 319[2], 321, 326, etc., " the camel belongs to— ", below a camel ; JS 585 " This is the killer of 'Adah ibn 'Amr ", above a drawing of a snake.

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[1] Q.D.A.P. XI, Pls. XI and XII.

There is also an example in Sinaitic Nabataean, see Cooke, North Semitic inscriptions, p. 262, No. 109. " This is the horse which Saadallahi son of 'Ala has drawn ", accompanying a suitable drawing. Here are pictures of men, with angular and curved limbs, wearing swords or carrying staves, and one of a woman giving birth. Pairs of feet are strange but popular motifs, and there is one example of a hand. Animals depicted include ibex, camels, dogs, ostriches, and in one case the pad of a leopard. The drawings and inscriptions were observed only in the vicinity of the water.

From Khaz Ali we crossed Khor el Ajram and entered the Wady el Beidha. A short distance up this valley, on the west side, is the small Nabataean building recorded by Savignac as Khashem el Jedeideh [3]; its real name is Um el Qeseir, Jebel Abu Jedeideh being some way farther east. The sketch plan published in R.B. does not show it, but there is very clearly a door in the north wall of the building ; the jambs are quite distinct. There should be water somewhere in the vicinity, which a close search might reveal. This was further indicated by the presence of a number of flints. Crossing to the eastern side of the valley, a track turns east up a small gap in the hills, crossing a rock outcrop called with some justification, el Mezeileqeh, the " little slippery place ".

In the valley thus entered, immediately to the south side of the track, is a stone construction or enclosure. Some built graves were noted on the rock ledges to the north of the valley, and a few amorphous flints were found in the valley bed. The track enters the great valley of El Barra, and turning north up it, soon reaches Un Sidd, a Nabataean dam in a cleft on the west face of Jebel Abu Jedeideh. The pool created by the dam is now completely filled with sand, but a very considereble quantity of water must have been retained. This great cleft (Pl. IV, Fig. 1), rising to a height of perhaps 200 metres almost sheer in a series of overhanging ledges, is one of the most impressive places in the Hasma. The floor of the valley is filled with large bushes of white broom, as is the case with most of the valleys. Ibex were seen high up on the shoulder of Jebel Abu Jedeideh.

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[1] R.B. Oct., 1934, fig. 5.

[2] Jaussen and Savignac, Mission Arch. en Arabie, II.

[3] R.B. Oct., 1932.

At the southern end of the massif are several more or less circular graves (?), and at the foot of the cliff some Thamoudic graffiti were seen. The return to Rum was made by going straight across the valley from Mezeileqeh down a pass called Al Manazi and so into Khor Um Ashreen, and round Taraif Merar the southern tip of Jebel Um Ashreem into Rum. Some indeterminate constructions were noted in the Manazi pass.

At the northern end of Rum, where the car road enters the wady proper, are the remains of small buildings, of very crude work and extremely ruinous. There are also things that look like terrace walls, through what was being terraced is a complete mystery.

Bir Rum el Atiq lies at the foot of the hills a short distance east of the mouth of Wady Rumman. It is not far off the car road, but quite invisible from it. The Nabataean remains (Pl. IV, Fig. 2 and text, Fig. 2) consist of a dam 50 metres long by 1·63 metres wide, with a rectangular enclosure at its eastern end. In the north west corner of this enclosure is what looks like a trough or bin. At the western end of the dam is a curved wall which perhaps conducted the water into a cistern now buried. At the point marked on the plan by a break in the dam, is a roughly circular depression which local tradition says is the site of a well: cf. p. Indeed one local inhabitant declared that his father had drunk from the well, though a surface examination suggests that nothing more improbable than a well in this neighbourhood. Two stones with mouldings were seen, and three obelisk-shaped "Dushara" stones, two of which had been used in modern Arab graves (text, Fig. 3).

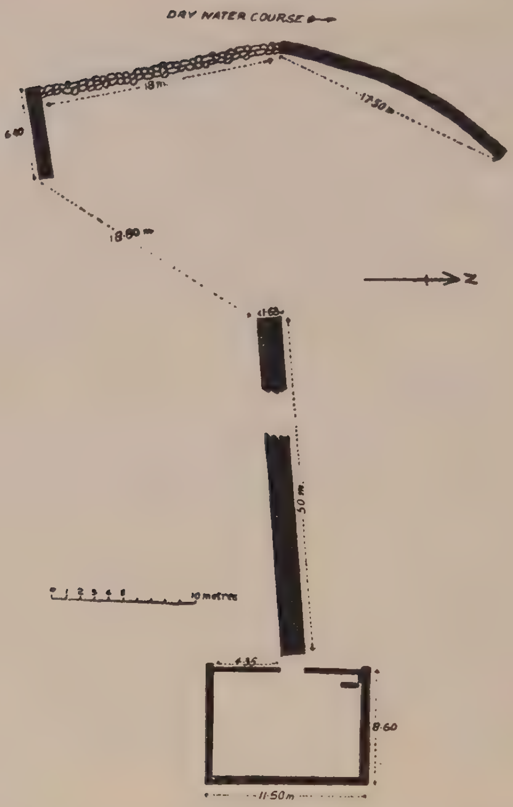
DRY WATER COURSE
18 m.
17·50 m
6·40
18·60 m
N
1·60
50 m.
0 1 2 3 4 5 10 metres
4·35
8·60
11·50 m

FIG. 2
Bir Rum el Atiq : Plan of Nabataean remains

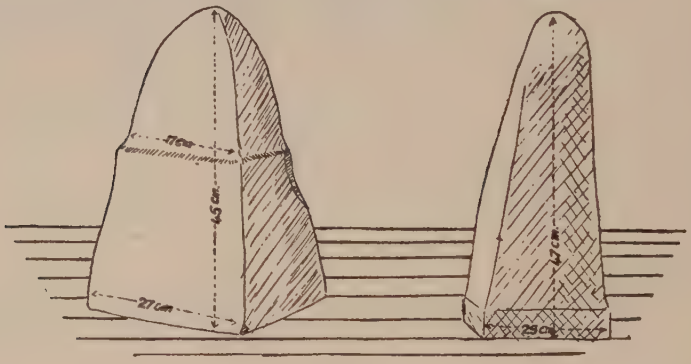
17cm
45 cm
27 cm
47 cm
29 cm

FIG. 3
Dushara (?) stones from Bir Rum el Atiq

At the foot of the hills are a number of more ancient graves, built of large slabs and blocks of stone, and slightly reminiscent of the Beni Murra graves[1]. One grave had a door or window in its southern face (Pl. V, Fig. 1), and a Thamoudic inscription on a block to the north. In one large boulder was a small chamber, the entrance to which had been reduced in size by blocking with stones. A few flints were found in the vicinity.

In the bed of the valley, and running roughly east and west, are parallel rows of rough granite blocks, 2 metres apart and 50 long ; their use and purpose is wholly obscure.

Moving camp to Kweireh, this was used as a centre for several trips in the vicinity.

Jebel Ratama is two hours' camel ride east of Kweireh, and is a small isolated mountain in the Wady Thelajeh. Five Nabataean dams were observed in clefts in the western face, varying in width from 75 cms. to 4 metres. The most southerly is the best, the area of cleft closed by the dam being 4 metres wide by about 25 long by at least three deep. The cistern thus formed was roofed over by slabs resting on arches, as at Khaldi (Pl. V, Fig. 2) the springs of 22 such arches are visible. There is a rock cutting to take a twenty-third just in front of the dam, which suggests it may have had an ornamental façade. On the rock facing the cistern is carved the word ΗΛЄΟϹ, in carefully cut lettering : it was the only fragment of Greek writing seen. A short distance from this is a Nabataean inscription, badly weathered, and traces of another below it (Pl. VI, Fig. 1). All these casual Nabataean texts are hammered and not cut in the rock, and as a result suffer badly from weathering and flaking of the surface.

Père Savignac has kindly examined the rather bad photograph (taken under considerable difficulties from the back of a camel), and makes the following remarks :

---

[1] Q.D.A.P. XI, pls. XI and XII.

D'après la photographie, je lirais ainsi la fin de la ligne 1 et la ligne 2 de l'inscription nabatienne :

. . . . שנתארבעין וחדה
לחרתת מלך נבטן רחמעמה . . . .

" L'an quarante et un
de Haretat roi de Nabatene aimant son peuple "

Je doute fort que les trois derniers signes de la ligne 2 soient des lettres nabatiennes.

La lecture de la premiere partie de la ligne 1 m'échappe encore—En avant de שנת, on lirait d'après la copie בתאדא—J'hesite beaucoup pour ce qui précède.

Si mon interpretation est correcte, le monument daterait de l'an 41 d'Aretas IV, monté sur le trône en l'an 9 avant J.C.

Au cas ou j'aboutirais à une lecture satisfaisante pour le début de la ligne 1, je ne manquerais pas de vous en faire part.

Parmi les differentes lectures au début de la ligne 1 qui me sont venues à l'esprit, sans que je m'arrête définitivement à aucune, je pourrais vous signaler la suivante :

לשב עבד איתי בתאדא שנת . . .

Pour . . . . a fait Itai cette maison (temple . . .) l'an . . .

It is interesting to be able to date the construction to 32 A.D., though a little surprising to find it called a בתא temple (?). There was no sign of a spring in which Allat could have resided, as at Rum.

At the entrance to the cleft is a rock-cut room, now inhabited by a Bedu family, and a rock-cut cistern which provides good water for the same family. Remains of another partly rock-cut, partly built, cistern were seen on the eastern face of the Jebel. All these works must have provided a considerable supply of water, and this was presumably an important caravan station on the road up to Maan by the Neqeb el Thelajeh. In a cliff towards the north west

is a small guard house, of exactly the same type as Um el Qeseir, partly rock cut and partly built. The blocks have the characteristic 45 deg. dressing, but no Nabataean inscriptions could be found in the vicintiy. There are a few much-weathered Thamoudic and Kufic graffiti close by, but the majority of these inscriptions are on the two faces of the north-west corner.

The way to Ratama from Kweireh lies between Jebels M'aaisi and Mahruq, and when we were safely back in Kweireh we were told of another dam in M'aaisi, but there was no opportunity to revisit the place.

In the outcrop to the west of the car road, just before the latter begins to climb to the Neqeb, are a number of rock-cut cisterns and a dam. One of the cisterns, called Harabet el Hanut, is roughly square in plan and has an overhead intake down the face of the scarp. On the rock face near it are Nabataean and two South Arabian graffiti, all much weathered ; there is also what looks like a rough Dushara niche. There are indications of more cisterns now buried under the sand which has drifted up against the scarp.

A little to the south the military have cleared out three large cisterns, called Shereif el Rekaib ; they are of the same type as those at Khaldi.

A short distance to the south west of this point is an isolated outcrop in which are some rock-cut cisterns and two dams, known as Harabet el Abeyd. The upper of the dams is exceptionally strong and well built, and would withstand a pressure of water ten times as great as that it could ever have been called on to bear. A few flints were found on the slopes below this dam.

Humeimeh, to the north west, was visited, but nothing remains of the ancient town except a few walls and piles of stones ; the outline of some buildings, such as a church, can still be made out, and excavation would undoubtedly reveal more. But its general appearance is a dreary waste of tumbled blocks, among which a few spaces have been cleared and some attempt made to grow crops by the local

Bedul. The most remarkable feature of the site is its cisterns ; two very large open reservoirs, and innumerable underground ones, many still roofed over, but the water no longer conducted to them. Sherds ranging from Nabataean to Early Arab were found.

From here we took a track leading up a valley to the west, which first climbed round the shoulder of another Jebel Hubeira, and then dropped by an extremely rough descent into the Wady Qelkheh. There is a magnificent Nabataean dam here, and five large natural pools, beside some of which troughs for watering animals have been cut. The valley goes up in a series of steps, about three to four metres high, with a pool at the foot of each step : round the side of the pool foot- and hand-holds have been cut to give easy access to the next platform. The dam has a rock-cut overflow at its north end, which conducts the water to a pool below ; the channel could also be used to supply the troughs with water when the pools had dried up. This system of channels to carry water from the main reservoir to troughs below is common to many of the dams observed. Some very weathered Nabataean inscriptions were noted, one consisting of two lines each about three metres long, but beyond the fact that writing had been there nothing could be made of them, except for one which brightly says " Shalom ". A few Thamoudic graffiti were equally unintelligible.

On the way down the wady, back to the Humeimeh plain, traces were observed of what looked like a paved path At the mouth of the valley is a large cistern and water catchment.

Farther south, at Rubeik, are more rock-cut cisterns in a valley to the west, also a few flints were found, and some amorphous piles of stones. We were told of another large cistern in an isolated hill to the south, but did not visit it.

From here we turned west again, climbing up to a gently sloping plain hidden behind the façade of hills which is all that can be seen from the road. We rode due west to a point above a spring called Ain Akhbat, where the ground drops away in a series of steep waves to the Arabah below. After going south across the plain, a long gradual climb lands you at Ain Hejfeh, where, at a height of about 1200 metres, is a series of small springs, each giving a thin trickle of water. There are remains of a fort above Ain Hejfeh, very ruined, where Early Arab sherds were found, but the graves in the Arab cemetery near by are almost entirely built of blocks with 45 deg. dressing. One grave has three voussoirs from an arch built into it, so evidently the early building was of some pretensions.

About two kilos north of Hejfeh, at the head of the valley and guarding a pass to the south, is a fairly large square fort, much ruined. There was not time to make a close examination, but it appears to have an entrance to the north, with a series of rooms on the north and south sides of a central courtyard, which runs the width of the building from east to west. The style of the building is remindful of the Iron Age work, but no sherds were seen to confirm or deny this assumption.

A brief visit was made to the Wady Mersed, which runs parallel to the Ithm el Injeidat, and at the junction of the two are two small Nabataean forts, Qeseir el Medeifi, one in the valley and one on the hill top. They could be no more than lookouts for Khaldi, in the Ithm. On the east side of the valley at the foot of Jebel Mersed are some extremely crude walls and enclosures, of no apparent use whatever. A short distance up the valley, at the eastern foot of Jebel Khaldi, are a number of graves of a different type from any noticed previously (Pl. VI, Fig. 2). Nearly all had been opened at some time. A peculiarity of this group are the multiple graves, one being 14 paces long and containing 6 graves, each a separate compartment, covered with large slabs about 1½ metre slong by 30 cms. by 15 cms. All the graves are constructed on the native rock, on which the body must have been laid ; some are square, built of large blocks which here break from the rock in neat square pieces. More than 50 graves could be seen, and there may be many more just round the corner. Musil in his trip down the Mersed did not apparently notice them.

At Khirbet Khaldi in the Wady Ithm the military have cleared out six large cisterns ; in one of them acoin of Constantine II is alleged to have been found. The cisterns are quite commonly in pairs, one at right angles to the other, each pair sharing a sump, which would perhaps have collected the larger stones and pebbles from the torrent. The cisterns are arched and roofed with slabs, and after some centuries of disuse still hold a good supply of water.

At Aqaba, military operations have cut away a corner of the site of Aileh, and in the lowest stratum thus revealed, *i.e.*, at sea level, there is nothing earlier than Byzantine. Not even a Roman or Nabataean sherd was to be seen, and the few walls seen in section are of the very poorest quality work. Some blocks of very light, soft limestone, with simple mouldings, and a small column base of the same material, came out of these walls, so far as could be ascertained of the upper level, and a number of trachyte water pipes (?) were also found. But the evidence is now clear that it is not the site of even the Roman or Nabataean town, let alone the Iron Age one.

Summarising the general results of the tour, perhaps the most interesting feature which emerges is the frequent indication of prehistoric occupations of the area, particularly the settlement at Abu Nekheileh. A few flints were found at Rum itself, but on the analogy of Abu Nekheileh any settlement which may have been there would now be hidden under the Nabataean temple. Pre-historic remains are generally found wherever there is permanent water, particularly springs, which calls attention to another feature, the great number of springs and other sources of water supply in the district, many of them entirely unrecorded before. Musil's list and maps[1] are so grossly inaccurate that they are best ignored altogether.

The Nabataean dams emphasize yet again the constant care of these people for their water supplies, their forethought and skill in building and selecting suitable sites for the dams and cisterns, and their power of organisation in maintaining them. Only mountains and valleys of white, crystalline sandstone were apparently considered ideal for these operations : exceptions are occasionally found, such as the reported dam in Jebel M'aaisi which is red sandstone. The reason for this choice is that the white sandstone hills weather into very smooth curved surfaces which provide excellent catchment for rainwater, whereas the red sandstone weathers in jagged peaks and precipitous gulleys.

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[1] The Northern Hijaz, p. 68.

The enormous number of Thamoudic graffiti everywhere testifies to the high degree of literacy achieved by these and related peoples (Safaites, Libyanites, Dedanites, etc.), which seems to reach its peak between roughly the fourth and eighth centuries A.D. Early Kufic graffiti are fairly common, but after the Omayyad period there seems to be a gap down to the present day, during which the only written thing with which everyone was familiar was the tribal mark. Now the business of scratching a few details about oneself on rocks and ruins is becoming increasingly popular : epigraphists of the future will no doubt approve.

The season of the tour being late spring, the opportunity was taken to collect a few specimens of plants and flowers. These have been identified by Mr. J. E. Dinsmore of the American Colony, Jerusalem, with whom the actual specimens have been left.

Note on the Flints by Dr. Stekelis.

SITE : *Rubeik.*

The specimens of worked flint implements found at this site include two end-scrapers, one side-scraper, one retouched blade with a terminal notch, two blades without secondary working, one core and one broken sickle-blade (?).

Period : Probably Post-Mesolithic.

Site : *Jarf al Derawish.*

The specimens collected from this site include a number of flint implements belonging to different Stone Age cultures.

(*a*) One heavy rolled, abraded flake, covered with a dark brown patina. Probably Tayacian.

(*b*) Two small cordiform hand-axes, unrolled and covered by a light brown patina. Levallois type.

Large thick blade with single oblique striking plane. Levallois type.

Blade with faceted striking plane and with a marginal notch. Patina of two shades. Probably Levallois type.

(*c*) Blade of Abri-Audi type (Upper Palæolithic). Lames de dégagement.

Scraper made from a tabular flint. Kilwa type.

Site : *Retama.*

(*a*) Heavy rolled and abraded core of Mousterian Age.

(*b*) Some worked flints of Mesolithic Period.

Sites : *Wadi Rum* (*Um el Qeseir*), *Bir Rum. Harabet al Abeyd*, *Qeseir Medeifi* (*W. Sittim*).

The worked flints found at these sites include mostly microlithic flakes and blades of an undeterminable age.

Site : *Rum*

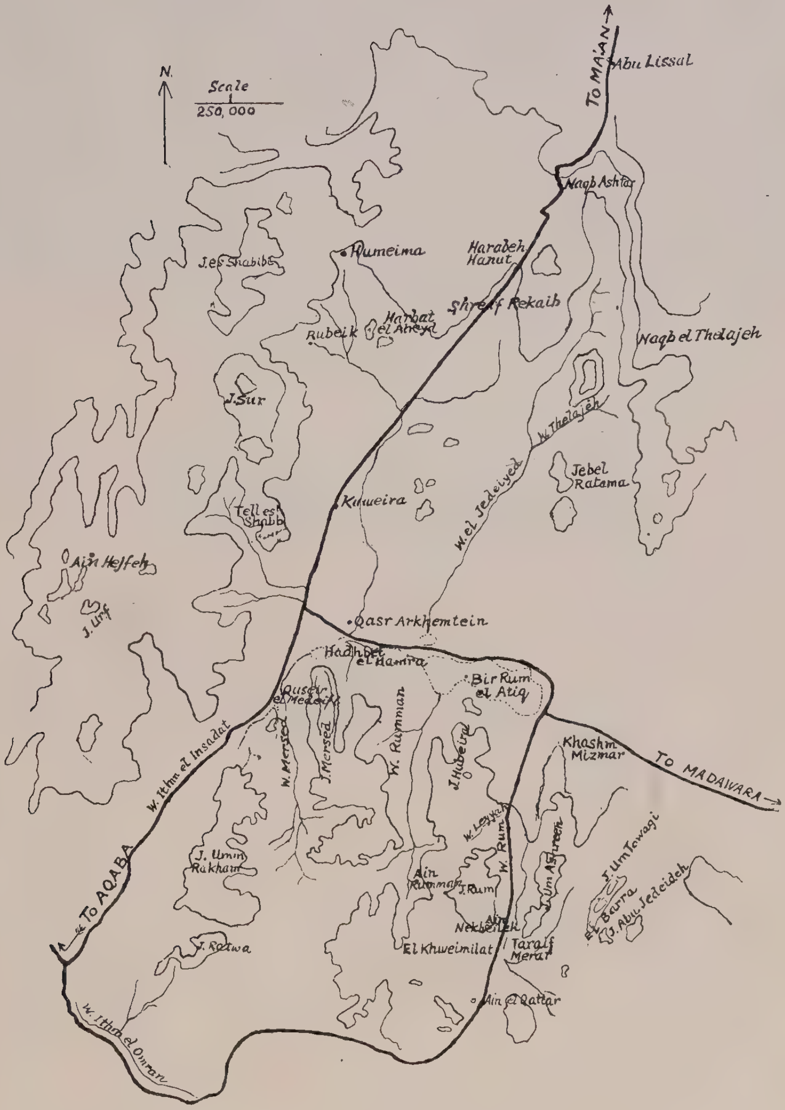
One Mesolithic (Natufian) crescent.

Site : *Al-Nakhila.*

The specimens collected from this site include elongated cores, pointed blades and flakes, all without traces of secondary work.

Very neatly worked knife blades, end-side scrapers and arrow heads. The arrow-heads are remarkable and are probably characteristic of this culture. They have been made from flint and quartz blades. These arrow-heads are mostly leaf shaped and of beautiful workmanship, having been made by flat retouching of one face only (pressure technique).

Period : Probably Chalcolithic (Jericho VIII).


N.
Scale
250,000
TO MA'AN
Abu Lissal
Naqb Ashtar
Humeima
Harabeh
Hanut
J. es Shabibe
Shreif Rekaib
Harbat
el Aneyd
Rubeik
Naqb el Thelajeh
J. Sur
W. Thelajeh
Jebel
Ratama
W. el Jedeiyed
Kuweira
Tell es
Shabb
Ain Helfeh
J. Urf
Qasr Arkhemtein
Hadhbet
el Hamra
Bir Rum
el Atiq
Queir
el Medeikh
W. Mersed
J. Mersed
W. Rumman
J. Hubeira
Khashm
Mizmar
TO MADAWARA
W. Ithm el Insadat
TO AQABA
J. Umm
Rakham
W. Leyyeh
W. Rum
J. Um Ashreen
J. Um Towagi
Ain
Rumman
J. Rum
El Barra
J. Abu Jedeideh
Ain
Nekbeileh
El Khweimilat
Taraif
Merat
J. Retwa
Ain el Qattar
W. Ithm el Omran

MAP OF AREA EXAMINED

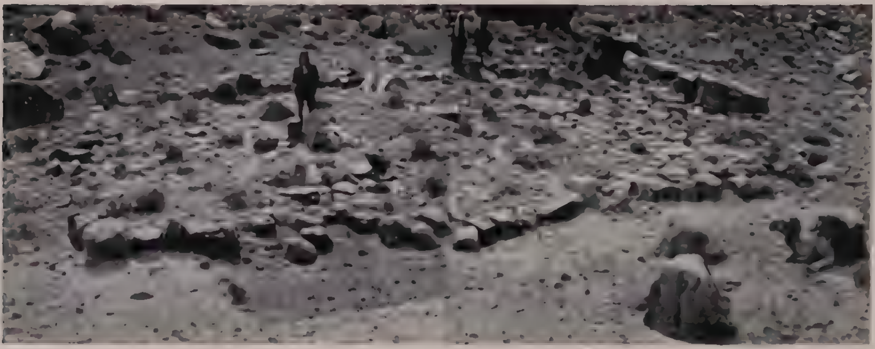


Fig. 1

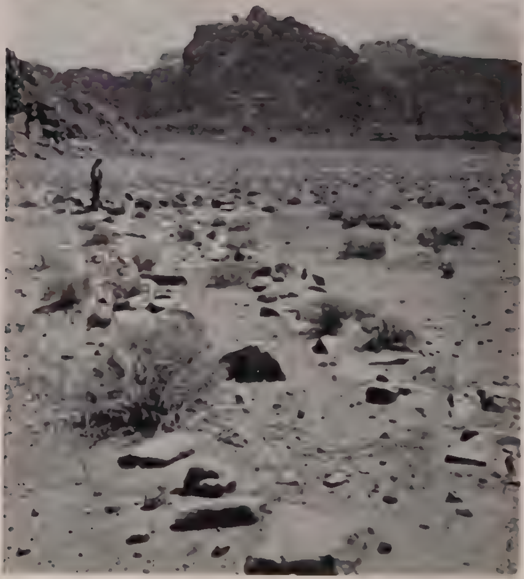


Fig. 2

Fig. 1. Paved enclosures at Mukmal el Jaheleen. Note central and back standing stones and very rough walls

Fig. 2. Double alignment of small stone circles at south end of Wady Rum: rectangular constructions near the figure. Taraif Merar in left, Jebel el Beidha in centre background

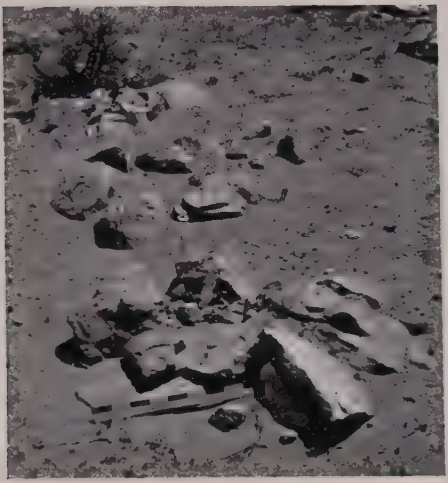


FIG. 1

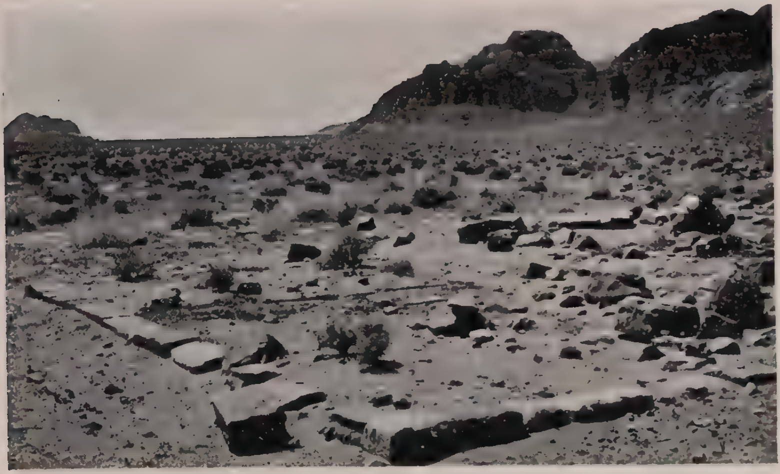


FIG. 2

FIG. 1. CLOSE-UP OF SOME OF THE CIRCLES SHOWN IN PL. II, FIG. 2

FIG. 2. RECTANGULAR ENCLOSURE WITH DIVIDING WALL (?) BELONGING TO THE SINGLE ALIGNMENT

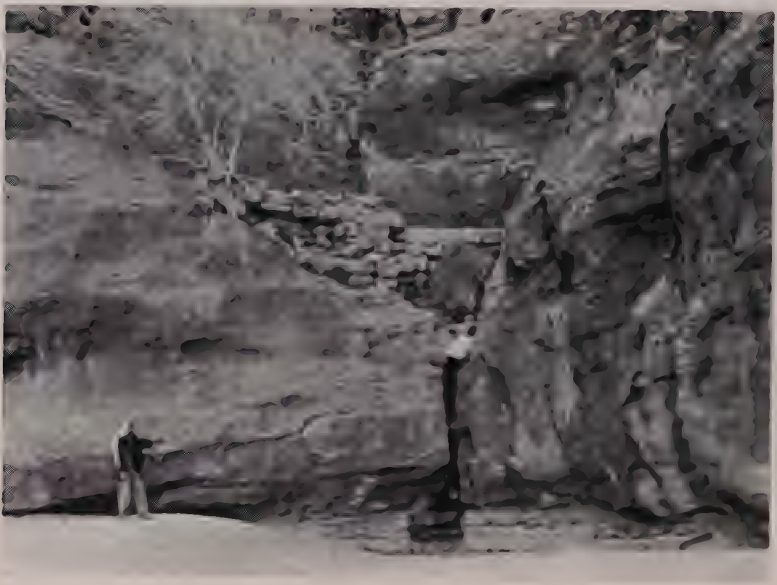


FIG. 1

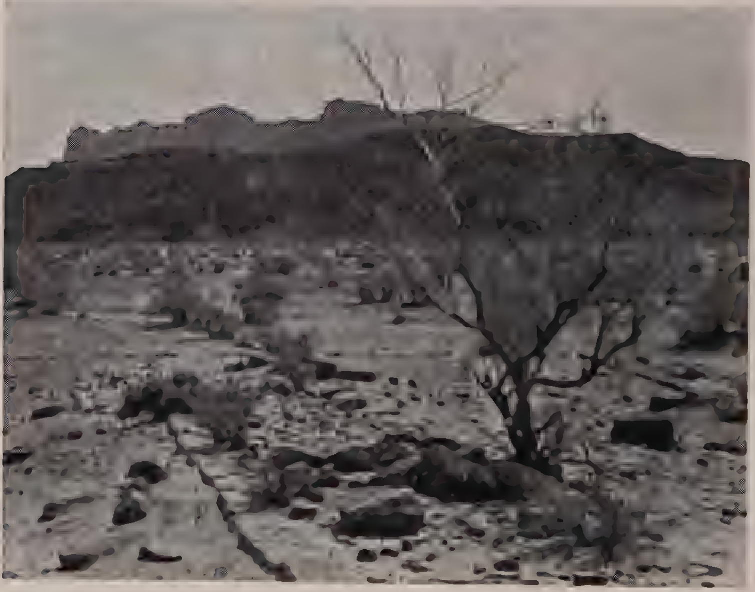


FIG. 2

FIG. 1. JEBEL JEDEIDEH, NABATAEAN DAM, UMM SIDD

FIG. 2. BIR RUM EL ATIQ: WALL OF THE DAM, WITH ENCLOSURE BEHIND

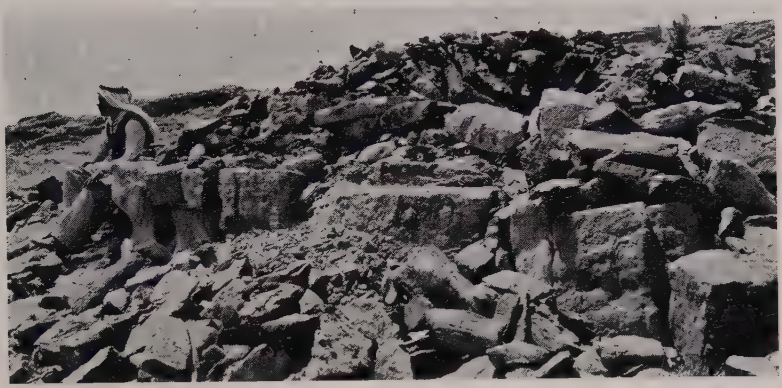


FIG. 1

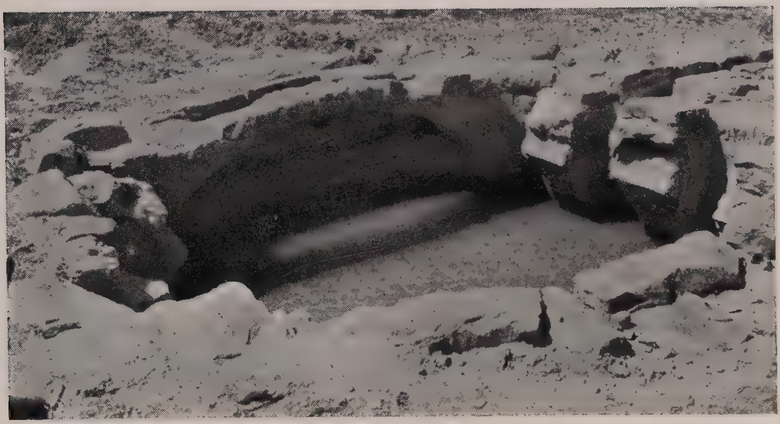


FIG. 2

FIG. 1. BIR RUM EL ATIQ: EARLY GRAVE WITH DOOR OR WINDOW

FIG. 2. KHIRBET KHALDI: CISTERN SHOWING SYSTEM OF ROOFING WITH ARCHES AND SLABS

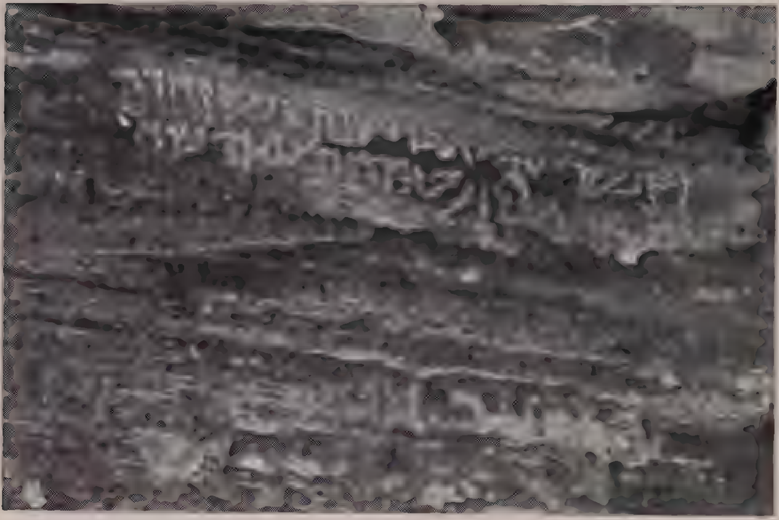


FIG. 1

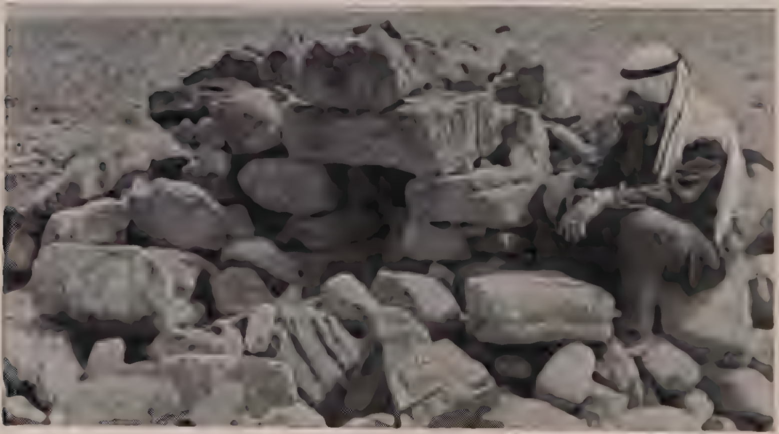


FIG. 2

FIG. 1. NABATAEAN INSCRIPTION AT JEBEL RATANA

FIG. 2. WADY MERSED, LARGE SQUARE GRAVE

TWO CONNECTED PROBLEMS RELATING TO THE ISRAELITE SETTLEMENT IN TRANSJORDAN

By J. Simons

I. The meaning of מִן + a proper name in Dt. III, 16 and some other geographical texts.

In the following pages I intend to deal, in the first place, with a small problem of translation and of interpretation regarding a passage in the Book of Deuteronomy, viz. iii, 15–17. Various commentators and translators have experienced considerable difficulties with this apparently rather innocuous passage and have failed to arrive at a satisfactory result.

In fact, there are two pitfalls in this short passage: *first*, the geographical term הַגִּלְעָד in v. 15, and *secondly*, the term מִן־הַגִּלְעָד in v. 16a. Some few scholars have not been able to avoid even the first of these pitfalls and, if I am not mistaken, not a single one has managed to keep absolutely clear from the second.

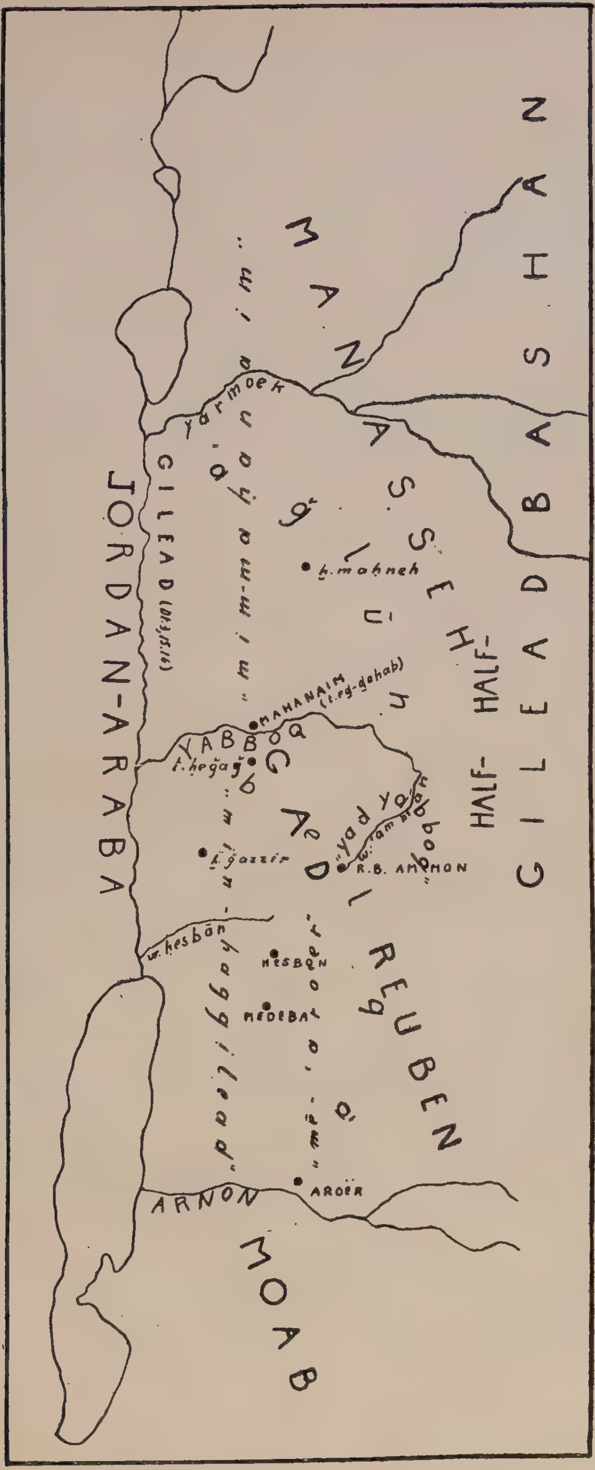
With regard to v. 15, it is the meaning or, to be more precise, the comprehension of the geographical term הַגִּלְעָד which is causing trouble. What is described in verses 15 to 17, is the division of Transjordan among three (or two and a half) tribes: Manassites, Gadites and Reubenites. Now, the *locus princeps* regarding this territorial division is, of course, Josh. xiii, 15–33 and from this it is clear that the division was as follows: the tribe of Reuben obtained the most southern part, *i.e.*, from the river Arnon (*seil el mōǧib*) to somewhere above the city of Heshbon (*ḥesbān*); let us say that *w.ḥesbān* was its northern limit.

Next came the Gadites who received the territory between *w.hesbān* and the river Yabboq (*nahr ez-zerqā*), or what is sometimes called " Half-Gilead ", in this case the southern half. We need not enter here into the special problems of the Jordan Valley : whether from the beginning it belonged in its entire length to the Gadites, or partly to the Gadites and partly to Half-Manasseh. Lastly, the Manassites got the other half of Gilead, between Yabboq and *yarmūk*, as well as the whole of Bashan, above the *yarmūk*.

Our passage also deals with this territorial division, not, however, these three verses alone but the whole of vv. 8–17, and this in such a way that we have here a threefold complete description of the Transjordan conquests, although each time with certain formal differences. The first passage, vv. 8–11, does not name the three recipients of the Transjordan provinces but limits itself to enumerating the territories conquered and available for distribution. This passage creates little or no difficulty. I only wish to point out that the term " Gilead " in v. 10 has the same meaning as in the *locus princeps* : Gilead, as a whole, is the territory between *w.hesbān* and *yarmūk*, consisting of two halves, above and below the river Yabboq respectively.

This again is the meaning of " Gilead " in the second passage, vv. 12–14, which not only enumerates the conquered provinces but also relates their actual allocation to Manasseh, Gad and Reuben. Vv. 12 and 13 expressly distinguish between two halves of Gilead, the northern half belonging to the Manassites, the southern half to the Gadites and the Reubenites, whose Transjordan share is considered here and in the third passage as a single unit.

This third passage, vv. 15–17, distinguishes itself from the outset by the fact that Manasseh is replaced here by " Machir ", *i.e.*, as Josh. xvii, 1 says, " the firstborn of Manasseh ", and therefore qualified to represent his tribe. This peculiarity, I believe, underlines the artificial composite character of the whole of vv. 8–17, which is also clear enough from its three times repeated identical subject.


JORDAN-ARABA
GILEAD
MANASSEH
HALF-
HALF-
GILEAD
BASHAN
yarmoek
YABBOQ
MAHANAIM
(t. ed-dahab)
h. mahneh
t. hegag
t. gazzir
w. amman
R.B. AMMON
GAD
REUBEN
w. hesbān
HESBON
MEDEBA
AROËR
ARNON
MOAB

Map of Israelite Settlement in Transjordan.

Just as the second passage, this last one relates the allocation of the Transjordan provinces to the various tribes but not without a remarkable terminological difference, viz. instead of dividing " Gilead " into two halves, one for Manasseh and one for Reuben and Gad, v. 15 attributes the whole of " Gilead " to Machir, in other words, to Manasseh. The obvious solution, though not seen by all translators, is that the term " Gilead " is taken here in a geographically less comprehensive sense than in the two preceding passages and stands only for the territory between *yarmūk* and *nahr ez-zerqā* or what is called elsewhere " Half-Gilead " (modern *āğlun*).[1] Indeed, the term " Gilead " is so elastic and variable that, as is well-known, at least four different meanings can be distinguished in the Old Testament.[2] In view of the fact that Dt. iii, 8–17 is an artificial conflation of mutually related territorial descriptions a different use of the term in its various component parts need cause no surprise. A similar heterogeneous use of the same geographical term, and this time within the same verse, can be seen in 2 Kings x, 33 : I shall come back to this text later on.

Those who have overlooked the difference between " Gilead " of v. 15 and that of vv. 8–14, are compelled to harmonize the Transjordan division as proposed in vv. 15 17 with the preceding one and with that of the *locus princeps* in another way, *i.e.*, by assuming that vv. 15–17 also reckon with a splitting of " Gilead " into two parts, one for Manasseh (Machir) and one for Reuben—Gad. They base this view on the interpretation of מִן־הַגִּלְעָד (v. 16a) in a partitive sense, in other words as meaning : " to the Reubenites and to the Gadites I gave part of Gilead ". Consequently they tacitly suppose or even expressly state, that הַגִּלְעָד in v. 15 likewise stands for " a part of Gilead " only, the whole of the passage meaning : I gave to Machir one part of Gilead and to Reuben and Gad I gave another part of Gilead.[1]

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[1] M. Noth's remark in P.J.B. 3 f 1941, p. 5 f n.1 is apparently also based on this mistake.

[2] See *e.g.*, Fernandez, *Problemas* etc., pp. 89 f. and M. Noth, in P.J.B. 3 f., 1941, pp. 58 ff.

It is clear, I think, that while a partitive interpretation of מִן־הַגִּלְעָד in v. 16a is grammatically lawful, it is doing violence to the obvious meaning of הַגִּלְעָד in v. 15 to understand this also in the same partitive sense. On the other hand: if הַגִּלְעָד in v. 15 does not mean "a part of Gilead" but "Gilead" *tout court* which is given to Machir, there is nothing left of this "Gilead" to be allocated in v. 16 to the other tribes, so that neither can מִן־הַגִּלְעָד have the meaning of "a part of Gilead". What, then, is the meaning of מִן־הַגִּלְעָד in v. 16? It is here that the trouble really begins, because, while most commentators and translators have avoided the arbitrary restriction of הַגִּלְעָד in v. 15 (with or without a clear notion of what the name exactly stands for in this verse), none, I believe, has fully realised the meaning of מִן־הַגִּלְעָד in the following verse.

Many commentators and translators understand this מִן in the ordinary sense of introducing a *terminus a quo*, followed by a *terminus ad quem* which, in its turn, is introduced by עַד or more exactly and as often happens, by וְעַד (וְעַד . . . מִן). Thus the territory attributed in v. 16 to Reuben and Gad would, according to them, not be mentioned by anything like a proper name or a substantive noun which is the direct object of נָתַתִּי and the counterpart of הַגִּלְעָד

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[1] See *e.g.*, Heinisch in his *Kommentar* i.h.l. Regrettably outspoken in this sense is our Catholic Dutch "PC-Vertaling" which interprets rather than translates: "Aan Makir gaf ik *het eene gedeelte* van Gilad. Aan de Rubenieten en de Gadieten gaf ik het *andere* gedeelte van Gilad." The "*Leidtche Vertaling*" is a case by itself. It avoids the arbitrary interpretation of הַגִּלְעָד in v. 15 but deals freely—too much so!—with v. 16: "Aan de Rubenieten en Gadieten dan heb ik gegeven van Gilead af tot aan de beek Arnon . . . , *langs* de grensen der Ammonieten, tot aan de beek Yabbok" (note also the inversion of the order in the second half of the verse).

in v. 15, but the object of נָתַתִּי and the counterpart of הַגִּלְעָד in v. 15, but the object of נָתַתִּי in v. 16 would have been expressed by a וְעַד . . . מִן-formula after the verb מִן־הַגִּלְעָד וְעַד־נַחַל אַרְנֹן, etc., the translation being: "I gave to Reuben and Gad from Gilead unto the river Arnon" etc. Now, this sounds perfectly well in our modern languages, but I have some doubt whether the construction is equally possible in Hebrew. In any case I am not aware of any parallel in the Old Testament. Anyhow this is not the point I want to stress or to base myself upon: I rather want to draw attention to the impossible consequence of the interpretation of מִן־הַגִּלְעָד as a *terminus a quo* in this case.

No doubt, everybody has already noticed that מִן is followed here not by one but by a double *terminus ad quem*: וְעַד־נַחַל אַרְנֹן and וְעַד יַבֹּק הַנַּחַל Now, the mention of a double *terminus ad quem* of a line or the mention of a double frontier of a territory may be understandable and, with certain reserves, admissible *if* the two termini are situated one behind the other, the second being more remote from the common *terminus a quo* than the former one; but a double *terminus ad quem* is impossible if the second one means a complete return to the *terminus a quo* and coincides with it, and this is exactly what would happen here. Let me explain this statement by applying it to the present case: a territory stretching "from Gilead", *i.e.*, from the Yabboq, down 'to the river Arnon" (v.16a; the meaning of תּוֹךְ הַנַּחַל וּגְבֻל is irrelevant here) is something perfectly understandable, but I cannot add to this that the same territory also extended "unto the river Yabboq" which is the starting point, the *terminus a quo* of the territorial description. It is reasonable to speak of a territory as extending "from Gilead unto the river Arnon" or "from Arnon unto Yabboq" but it has no sense to say that a territory extends "from Gilead" unto the river Arnon and (back!) to the river Yabboq".

Nearly all commentators have been well aware of this impossible phraseology but attempt to avoid it by assuming that " unto the river Yabboq " in v. 16 does not really mean " unto *nahr ez-zerqa* ", the northern limit of the " Gilead " of v. 15, but only : unto that upper part of the Yabboq which runs from South (S-E) to North (N-W) and now bears the special name of *wādy-'ammān.* The basis for this restricted special meaning of " unto the river Yabboq " they find in the clause attached to the name of the river : "the frontier of the Bene Ammon ", because, they say, not *nahr ez-zerqa,* the main river course which runs from East to West, but *w.'ammān* was the boundary of Ammon, whose territory was confined between this *wādy* and the desert. In their opinion, therefore, the territorial description of v. 16 amounts to a sort of circuit in the form of a triangle : from Gilead (*i.e.*, from *nahr ez-zerqā*), unto the river Arnon, and thence unto *w.'ammān.*

In spite of the fairly unanimous acceptance of this interpretation of v. 16 I do not believe it to be right, first of all on account of the strange meaning it gives to " the river Yabboq ", which elsewhere is the great valley splitting Transjordan into two halves and not merely its main south-north constituent. Secondly, I have very grave doubts about the customary interpretation of the stereotype clause גְּבוּל בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן which several times seems to follow almost automatically after the name the river Yabboq. But, as this difficult point cannot properly be dealt with in a few words, I shall reserve it for the second part of the present essay, where I intend to prove that the anomalous consequence pointed out above cannot be got rid of by a convenient restriction of " Yabboq " to its upper course. Anticipating this conclusion I shall now propose without further delay my own interpretation and translation of Dt. iii, 16.

To begin with, I observe that the formula וְעַד . . . וְעַד can be understood not only as introducing two points on a progressive line (straight or curved) but also as the equivalent of עַד . . . מִן or . . . וְעַד . . . מִן ; in other words as indicating a *terminus a quo* and an (opposite) *terminus a quem*. As an example of this I could perhaps quote 1 Kings iv, 12, but the massoretic order of this text is disputed and we have another example much nearer at hand, viz. Dt. iii, 17 compared with Josh. xii, 3. In either text we have a description of the Araba or Jordan Valley almost in the same terms, but in Dt. iii, 17 the Araba is said to extend מִכִּנֶּרֶת (*i.e.*, practically from the Sea of Galilee) וְעַד יָם הָעֲרָבָה ("unto the Araba Sea" or Dead Sea), while in Josh. xii, 3 the same valley is said to reach כִּנְרוֹת עַדְ־יָם on one side and וְעַד יָם הָעֲרָבָה on the other. Therefore the formula of v. 16 may likewise be interpreted as indicating opposite limits, viz. the boundaries of a territory which extends on the one (southern) side "unto the river Arnon" and on the other (northern) side "unto the river Yabboq" or, what is the same: "from Arnon unto Yabboq". This formula represents, syntactically speaking, a complete formula consisting of a *terminus a quo* and a *terminus ad quem*. It is also geographically adequate, because the eastern and western limits of this territory, *i.e.*, the desert and the river Jordan, need not be mentioned.[1] But which is the territory this formula applies to? No other than "מִן־הַגִּלְעָד" this being the direct object (accusative) of נָתַתִּי, just as הַגִּלְעָד in v. 15 is the direct object of לְמָכִיר נָתַתִּי. Thus the term "מִן־הַגִּלְעָד" has the value and meaning of a new noun or substantive: while Machir receives הַגִּלְעָד Reuben and Gad receive "מִן־הַגִּלְעָד". Only because, in contrast with הַגִּלְעָד, the term "מִן־הַגִּלְעָד" is by itsel undefined and capable of more than one interpretation (*e.g.* above or below "Gilead"), it is usefully specified by a formula mentioning its southern and northern limits.

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[1] In all texts relating to the territorial division of Transjordan amon the three Israelite tribes it is tacitly supposed that the division is by parallel east-to-west lines across the entire breadth of the country from the Jordan to the desert.

To make my meaning quite clear I must add, I think, two remarks : (1) If I say that "מִן־הַגִּלְעָד" in v. 16 has the function of a new noun or a substantive, I do not deny that its semasiological value is based on מִן as the particle of removal (" from ") but what I do deny is that the composite expression "מִן־הַגִּלְעָד" can be interpreted here as a *terminus a quo*, as one half or as a part of a territorial description in the form of a וְעַד . . . מִן formula : it has a meaning by itself, just as an ordinary proper name or substantive ; in short : it is, syntactically, an element as complete as הַגִּלְעָד in v. 15, although more vague and capable of being specified by an additional וְעַד . . . וְעַד-formula ; (2) The idea of מִן + a noun forming a new substantive is not new, because wherever מִן is used in the partitive sense, we really have a new substantive capable of being the subject and object of a verb. What, has been overlooked, however, in my opinion, is the fact that the combination of מִן + a noun (c.q. a proper name) may have the value of a substantive without מִן being used in the partitive sense, and must, as far as possible in our languages, be translated as such. Therefore the proper translation of v. 16 is, I think : " To Reuben and Gad I gave ' from Gilead ', *i.e.*, unto the river Arnon on the one side and unto the river Yabboq on the other ", or less literally but in better English : " To Reuben and Gad I gave the territory next to Gilead, viz. from the river Arnon unto the river Yabboq ".

This interpretation of "מִן־הַגִּלְעָד" can be illustrated and confirmed by some other examples of מִן + a proper name forming a new noun, syntactically treated as such, the recognition of which should in several cases have an important bearing upon the translation or interpretation of the respective texts.

The first example occurs a number of times, viz. מֵעֲוֹעֵר. This term is used sometimes as an ordinary *terminus a quo*[1] but in other cases it has a substantive function and meaning complete by itself, which is even more unmistakable than that of מִן־הַגִּלְעָד in Dt. iii, 16, because in contrast with this it is not followed by an עַד-clause or by any other explanatory formula. At least three times this substantival use of מֵעֲרֹעֵר cannot be doubted, viz.: Dt. iii, 12 ; xiii, 9 and 2 Kings x, 33. The last example is the clearest one because of the simplicity of the whole formula : Hazael smote them (the Israelites) "on the eastern side of the Jordan, the whole land of Gilead (in its widest sense, *i.e.*,), the Gaddites, the Reubenites and the Manassites", or in corresponding geographical terms : "מֵעֲרֹעֵר and Gilead (in its middle sense, from the *yarmūk* to *w.ḥesbān*) and Bashan"[2].

There is one more example of מֵעֲרֹעֵר used absolutely (without a following עַד-clause) but this time not in the accusative as the direct object of a verb but as a nominative in a predicative function, viz. Josh, xiii, 16. The text has been added to, and its original wording is a subject of dispute, but the original enumeration may have been confined to two members : מֵעֲרֹעֵר and כָּל־הַמִּישֹׁר. Because of the introductory formula, וַיְהִי, etc., one might feel inclined to translate here : "their territory was from Aroer" in the sense of a *terminus a quo*. However, this translation, though universally accepted, probably fails to do full justice to the formula, first because there is no *terminus ad quem*, and secondly because מֵעֲרֹעֵר is but the first member of an enumeration and on equal footing with the other member or members[3]. The fact that elsewhere מֵעֲרֹעֵר has a clear substantival meaning also favours the same interpretation in this case. Apparently the term had acquired a concrete geographical meaning (from the river Arnon to the southern frontier of Gilead, *w. ḥesbān*) which needed no further explanation. Perhaps the substantival interpretation of מֵעֲרֹעֵר in this case will further be confirmed by my next example.

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[1] *E.g.*, Dt. ii, 36 ; iv, 48, etc. This is also the meaning of מֵעֲרֹעֵר in Josh. xii, 2, because "and Half-Gilead" must probably be deleted from this text.

[2] Compare this enumeration with that of Dt. iv, 73 and Josh. xx, 8 : Bashan, Gilead and (instead of מֵעֲרֹעֵר) "the Mishor".

[3] There is a possibility that in the original text, if restricted to עֲרֹעֵר וְכָל־הַמִּישֹׁר, the second element was *explicativum* (*pars principalis pro toto*). If so the substantival meaning of עֲרֹעֵר .. remains nevertheless unimpaired or rather becomes still clearer.

In Josh. xiii, 30 the description of the territory of Manasseh in Transjordan is introduced by the formula : " Their territory was מִמַּחֲנַיִם. " Here the term " from Mahanaim " occupies exactly the same position as מֵעֲרֹעֵר in Josh. xiii, 16 but cannot be treated otherwise than as a substantive in a predicative function. Indeed, every translation which reduces מִמַּחֲנַיִם to an ordinary *terminus a quo*, must imply that Mahanaim was somewhere near the southern border of Bashan[1]. Now, this is an obvious impossibility, since Mahanaim in the highest possible hypothetical identification is *ḫ. maḥne*, somewhere in the middle of *ʻaǧlūn*, and according to the more probable theory *tūlūl eḏ-ḏahab* on the brink of the Yabboq[2]. The true interpretation of Josh. xiii, 30 postulates a splitting of this verse into two formulae, the former of which in a general way calls the territory of Manasseh " the one next to Manahaim ", while the second explains and specifies this term by enumerating its various parts, not, however, starting " from Mahanaim ", but beginning with the northern province, Bashan, to which v. 31 adds " Half-Gilead " or the territory between *yarmūk* and *nahr ez-zerqā*. The latter river is Manasseh's souther frontier, marked by the city of Mahanaim, just as Aroer on the Arnon marks the southern frontier of Reuben. In other words : מִמַּחֲנַיִם must be detached from " Bashan " and the only way to do this, is to take it as a substantival noun, having a complete meaning of its own, albeit vague and in need of further specification[1].

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[1] As one example—out of many—I may quote Torczyner (*Die hl. Schrift*) who translates : " *Ihr Gebiet war* : *Von Machanaim an der ganze Baschan*," etc. The " PC-Vertaling " again makes the mistake still more clear by inverting the order of the words. It reads : " *Zy kregen heel het gebied van Basjan, van Machanaim af*, etc."

[2] A new theory (de Vaux) places Mahanaim even more to the South, at *tell heǧaǧ*.

Exactly in the same nature as מֵעֲרֹעֵר in Josh. xiii, 16 and מִמַּחֲנִם in Josh. xiii, 30 is in my opinion the case of מֵאָשֵׁר in Josh. xvii, 7. This word is almost universally considered enigmatic, perhaps displaced, and has been the subject of numerous daring hypotheses, including the existence of a city of the name of " Asher " somewhere between Hammichmetat (probably *ǧūleiǧil* and in any case in this neighbourhood, עַל־פְּנֵי שְׁכֶם : 17, 7) and the Jordan. This *ignotum per ignotius* is, of course, no better than the off-hand translation : " from Asher (the tribe of Asher) to Hammichmetat "[2]. This is not only geographical nonsense but it is also a quite unnecessary translation, even if my substantival interpretation of מֵאָשֵׁר is not accepted. M. Noth has correctly seen (see his *Kommentar*) that " Hammichmetat " is not to be connected with the preceding מֵאָשֵׁר, and he therefore translates : " *Das Gebiet Manasses beginnt bei Asser . . . Michmetat* " etc. In other words : the description of the boundary of Manasseh does not begin with " Asher " but, in the present condition of the text at least, with " Hammichmetat ", a view which is borne out by the analysis of the wider context[3]. But, going a little further still than Noth, I should say : the introductory formula of Josh. 17, 7 (וַיְהִי גְבוּל מְנַשֶּׁה) not only does not indicate the beginning of a line, but, at least formally, *no beginning at all* :

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[1] Consequently, Josh. xiii, 30 instead of contradicting the conclusion from Gen. xxxii according to which Mahanaim must be on the Yabboq, *postulates* the same location.

[2] So, again among many others, Torczyner : " *Die Grenze Manaschsches war von Ascher nach ha-Michmetat* ").

[3] For a justification of this statement I may refer to my essay on " The Structure and Interpretation of Josh. xvi-xvii ", about to be published by the Dutch Oriental Society (*Oostersch Genootschap in Nederland*).

the author who is about to describe the line of demarcation between Ephraim and Manasseh, merely wants to remind the reader beforehand of the general position of Manasseh's portion : it was " that next to Asher ". Of course, here again it would be grammatically possible (and make little difference) to translate : " The territory of Manasseh was situated next to Asher ", but in view of מִן־הַגִּלְעָד in Dt. iii, 16, מֵעֲרֹעֵר in several places and מִמַּחֲנַיִם in Josh. xiii, 30 I feel that the substantival interpretation is justified and again more correct.

The list of examples in which the particle מִן + a proper name has practically the value and grammatical function of a new substantive, though not based on the partitive meaning of מִן, is not exhausted. It would be particularly worth while to examine the interesting case of Josh. xix, 33 which is of some importance for the correct interpretation of the whole of this chapter dealing with the territorial delimitations of the Galilean tribes. But an adequate presentation of this case would require, even more than the preceding one, a laborious discussion of the wider context. For this reason I rather leave it for another occasion, as well as the further question whether similar combinations (עַד or אֶל + a geographical or topographical name) might perhaps sometimes be ranged within the same category of artificially composed substantival nouns.

To be continued.

HEBREW NOTES

By A. Guillaume

I

Isaiah i, 4

In Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica* we are told to read with Targum and Vulgate נסגו אחור for נָזֹרוּ· אָחוֹר ; and then as an afterthought נְזֹרוּ is suggested as a better form. The RV. " estranged *and gone* backward " implies that the root is the common one which the prophet uses in זרים " strangers " in v. 7. It is not, yet the text is perfectly sound as Targ. and Syr.[1] recognized. The cognate Arabic *zawira*, inclined, and the ninth form *izwarra* ʻ*anhu*, turned aside from him, which are denominative forms from *zawr*, breast ; Acc. zāru, bend ; and Aram. זור (a translation of Heb. סור in Num. xvi, 26) all point to the meaning *turn* or *incline*. נָזֹרוּ· occurs once more (with the preposition מֵעָלַי) in Ez. xiv, 5 ; and in the Qal in Ps. lviii, 4 ; lxxviii, 3, and Job xix, 13 in this sense.

It is worth noticing that the prophet plays upon the different meanings of the syllable ZAR. Two examples have been given above ; a third occurs in v. 6 where *zorū* is used in the sense of " squeezed " as in Jg. vi, 38.

If a fourth meaning attaches to זרים in v. 7 I confess that I cannot see what it can be, though the generally accepted emendation סדם seems too easy. Since the similes that follow refer to agriculture is it possible that Isaiah said " (Your land) is a desolation as though *winnowers* זֹרִים had overturned it " ?

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[1] I fail to understand K's note : " l.c.V. נִסגו א cf. 42, 17 " because V. here has *abalienati* which must represent the MT., whereas for נסגו in 42, 17 it has *conversi*.

II

Isaiah vi, 13

This verse has given difficulty to exegetes. It contains two contradictory statements which cannot be reconciled as the text stands. The first says that even if a tenth remains it will be burnt again like the stump of a tree which has been felled : the second statement (omitted by the Gk. versions doubtless through homoeoteleuton) identifies the holy seed with the stump. Thus Gray[1] thought that the meaning is that the tenth also would be exterminated. Skinner's translation[2] "it must again pass through the fire" even if it were legitimate could not possibly remove the contradiction because the stump of a tree which had been burned or even "passed through fire" could not "retain the principle of vitality" in its roots.

On the other hand total annihilation cannot be the meaning, for Isaiah's characteristic doctrine of a righteous remnant would be excluded before his ministry began ; and further the life latent in a hewn tree is a favourite thought of his, cf. xi, 1.

The text simply needs rearranging : it calls for no emendation. If the book was written in columns and we assume a different order of the lines the passage would run thus :

[1] And yet there shall be a tenth in it ועוד בה עשריה
[2] Like the terebinth and like the oak כאלה וכאלון
[3] Which when felled for burning אשר בשלכת לבער
[4] Grow a new ושבה והיתה
[5] Stock in them מצבת בם[3]
[6] The holy seed is the stock thereof. זרע קדש מצבתה

It would seem that an early copyist wrote lines 1, 2, 3, 5, 6 ; and then seeing that he had left out line 4 he wrote it in the margin. A later copyist inserted it after line 1 instead of in its proper place after line 3 and it carried with it the letters לבער which had themselves trespassed on the margin (if my reconstruction is sound) because the greatest number of letters in a line being only ten the inclusion of twelve letters in (the original) line 3 would force the word into the margin.

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[1] *ICC.*, 111.
[2] *Cam. B.*, 51.
[3] 100 MSS. בה

III

AMOS iii, 12

THE RV conceals some grave difficulties in the second half of this verse :

> As the shepherd rescueth out of the mouth of the lion
> Two legs or a piece of an ear ;
> So shall the children of Israel be rescued that sit in Samaria
> In the corner of a couch and on the silken cushions of a bed.

The MT. runs :

כאשר יציל הרעה מפּי הארי
שתי כרעים או בדל אזן
כן יִנָּצְלוּ· בני ישראל הישבים בשמרון
בְּפְאַת מִטָּה וּבִדְמֶשֶׁק עָרֶשׂ׃

Now מִטָּה Lxx rendered φυλῆς *i.e.*, מַטֶּה thus showing that they did not know a tradition that " bed " was the meaning. The strange word בדמשק they and Vulg. naturally read as " in Damascus ". The RV's " silken cushions " is a translation based on the erroneous assumption that a word *damask* was known in the eighth century B.C.[1]

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[1] S. R. Driver, *Camb Bib.*, 161 shows why this conjecture cannot be right.

Wherein lies the point of the comparison? It is hard to see any connexion between the recovery of some mangled fragments from a lion's mouth and men reclining at ease on cushions. Whatever we read into the simile, a luxurious couch is as unlike a lion's mouth as anything could be! Obviously the point must be that the men of Samaria will emerge decimated and wounded from a grievous peril.

Now Sellin[1] has shown that this passage, together with ii, 13ff; iv, 10; vi, 11; and ix, 1, is a prophecy of an earthquake which was fulfilled two years afterwards.[2] But though he provided the clue to the unravelling of the passage, unfortunately he retained the meaning "bed" and even provided another one by substituting משכב for בדמשק!

Every word in this hemistich deserves close scrutiny. First of all we must reject "corner" as a translation of פאת Here the word means "plunder" or "spoil" like the Arabic *fay'un.* Undoubtedly it bears this meaning in Neh. ix, 22: וַתַּחְלְקֵם לְפֵאָה which should be translated "Thou gavest them kingdoms and peoples which thou didst allot to them *as spoil* and so they took possession of the land of Sihon" etc. Secondly מטה should be pointed מֹטָה from √מוט "totter", "shake[3]" Thirdly, if we are on the right lines, the last two words of the verse must provide a parallel to "the spoil of the earthquake". If we remember that in Arabic *damasa* means to cover, conceal (a verb which is peculiarly appropriate here because it is used of *burying a body alive or dead*)and simply transpose the first two letters of ערש so as to read רֶעַש we obtain a sense which meets all the difficulties at the price of the deletion of the obtrusive ק and a change in the order of two letters. In spite of the interpolated ק it is most significant that the Masoretes preserved the שׂ and did not fall into the error of the scribe who wrote in the ק. By avoiding the temptation to write שׁ they made " Damascus ", the rendering of Lxx, Targ, and Vulg., impossible ; and incidentally the modern translation " damask " also.

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[1] *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch*, Leipzig, 1922, 177.

[2] Cf. i, 1.

[3] Cf. מוט "tottering" in Ps. lv, 23.

Lastly one detail of secondary importance remains be settled. Is the point of the comparison that the Samaritans will emerge from the earthquake as though from the mouth of a lion ; or that they will escape with a fragment of their possessions ? If the former then we must read מ for ב in two places ;[1] if the latter the text will stand. We may read :

As the shepherd rescues etc.

So shall the children of Israel rescue themselves[2] . . .

From (or, with) what the earth tremor has taken as plunder

And from (or, with) what the earthquake has buried. (ו·בְדֶמֶשׁ רַעַשׁ)

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[1] These letters are those most frequently confused in the MT.

[2] I prefer to take the Niphal as a reflexive rather than as a passive.

MORIAH–ARIEL

By Dr. Samuel Krauss

While we can see the two elements of which the name Jerusalem is composed, there is nothing obvious in “ Moriah ” which makes it a fit subject for analysis. The puzzle begins with the fact that according to Gen, xxii, 2, the spot where Abraham’s offering of Isaac was to take place is called “ *land* of Moriah ” (המֹריה with the article prefixed to a proper name, see G.K., § 125 d, thus seemingly no proper name at all, and indeed it is followed by the words “ upon one of the mountains which I will tell thee of ”) ; whereas in II Chr. iii, 1 “ *mount* Moriah ” is mentioned, “ and here Solomon began to build the house of the Lord, where [the Lord] appeared unto David his father.” “ Appeared ” gives a clear note of dependence on Gen. xxii, 14 “ *Adonai yireh* . . . in the mount where the Lord is seen ”. According to Jewish tradition, accepted by the Church[1], the Temple mount is identical with the place named in the story concerning God’s command to sacrifice Isaac[2], although “ the land of Moriah ” makes this assumption very doubtful. To make “ land ” the equivalent of “ mountain ”, an old Midrash[3] remarks that the spot had had previously the character of a valley, but the Lord made it more dignified, and by raising it up it became an excellent place, “ and for that it is called mount of Moriah, because out of His fear (or cult)[4] it turned into a mountain ”. That is, indeed, a curious counterpart to the LXX rendering in Gen. xxii, 2 "land that is high[1]". There was, therefore, a twofold tradition; the one, taking ראה as root, saw in מריה the notion of "vision", "theophany"; the other, probably extending מור in מרום, saw in it the meaning "a lofty noble place", physically and morally. This latter view could even claim to be in accordance with a solemn saying of Jeremiah the Prophet (xvii, 12): "Thou throne of glory, on high (מרום) from the beginning, thou place of our sanctuary". Jerome, on Gen., *l.c.*, gives two etymologies of Moriah which agree with those of the Rabbis in Genesis Rabbah c. 55, 7, where also many others are given. In all this we do not move from the realm of phantasy, the opposite of reality. Apparently nobody was inclined to regard Moriah as a geographical proper name owing to the fact that the article was attached to it. The Peshitta[2], however, renders it by אמוריה, to be understood, according to some scholars, as "Amorite", the land of the Amorites. But why should it not be a painfully exact rendering of the Hebrew המריה with Aramatic *alef* as usual for Hebrew *he*? Let us finish this survey by mentioning Josephus (Ant. I, 13, 2), who, while identifying Moriah with the Temple mount, gives no etymological explanation of the word Moriah itself.

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[1] For sources both Jewish and Christian see L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, V, 253 in note 253.

[2] By Jews called עקידה, the tying of Isaac as a sacrifice. This notion plays a great rôle in Jewish thought and liturgy.

[3] Anonymous in the Jalqut compilation, I c. 100. The source is unknown.

[4] This last sentence is not clear ; יראה may mean fear or cult.

The present writer ventures to offer a quite new explanation of it. In Jeru-salem we have seen the noun רו corresponding to a Hebrew root ירה. Now, taking dialectic variations into account, but regarding the known Hebrew forms as a pattern, we easily arrive at a noun formation מורה morah, a formation which really derives from the other ירה root and has been adduced for our Moriah in another way by some scholars[1]; it may rightly be supposed to come from the root ירה with which we are concerned namely from that meaning " to cast ", " to build ", " to found ". This can be assumed on the analogy of multifarious formations from verbs ל״ה and by reason of their relation with verbs ל״א and פ״י. Now, if we associate the noun מוֹרָה with a further grammatical formation which is very common in the ל״ה roots, namely that the original sometimes appears before afformatives beginning with a vowel, and especially in feminine participial forms which are practically the same as our מורה[2], we shall have the form מוריה[3]. This word means, therefore: " *casting* ", " *founding* ", " *foundation* ", exactly that which we have found in the first element in " Jeru-salem ". This means, in other words, that when Abraham was about to sacrifice his son Isaac at this place, chosen among other mountains " which I will tell thee of " in the land Ha-Moriah, he found it already distinguished by some " foundation " on its top, by an altar or even a sanctuary of the *aborigines*, yet he built on it his own altar, as he did in Sichem, at the terebinth of Moreh, and later also in Beth-el (Gen. xii, 7, 8).[4] By this it becomes evident that Moriah was sacred even before Abraham came into the land. Similarly Bāmōth-Ba'al was a place of worship, as its name indicates, before Balaam commanded Balak to build there seven altars (Numb. xxiii, 1).

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[1] In matters so evident I restrict myself to this short notice. For mor elaborate notices see commentaries and dictionaries; I wish speciall to cite the article Moriah, by S. R. Driver, in Hastings, Dict. of the Bible

[2] Driver and Ginzberg, *l.c.* The latter remarks that the Syria Fathers Ephraim and Aphraates maintain that the 'Aqedah took plac on the holy mount of Jerusalem; why do they not realise that in takin "Amorijah" of the Pesh. for Amorites they are wrong? Accordin to "Kebra Nagast", English by E. A. Wallis Budge, London, 1932 p. 172, the offering of Isaac took place on Mount Karmel.

It is a welcome addition to our knowledge concerning this place that the most celebrated sacred rock on the Temple mount is called אבן שתיה in the Mishnah (Yoma V, 2) and in many Rabbinic texts[1]. It is a stone which in the second Temple occupied the place of the Holy Ark and the name of which has been explained in the sources themselves as meaning : " from which the world was started ", that is " created "—a foundation of the greatest importance. In the same way the Aggada explains the word תושיה Is. xxviii, 29 : the Torah is meant, as the foundation document of the whole world[2]. Besides, the word תושיה, according to Barth and his followers (see Gesenius), is from the root ישה, and has a form strongly reminiscent of " Moria".

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[1] See in S. R. Driver's article " Moriah " quoted above; W. H. Bennett in article " Moreh " *ib.* writes: " on the suggested indentification of Moreh with Moriah, and with the sacred trees in Gen. xxxv, 4, Jos. xxiv, 26, Jg. ix, 6, 37 cp. Meonenim (Oak of). But I assume as extant the noun *morah* too ".

[2] § 75 *u v.*

[3] Transmitted always defectively, a singularity which may have its basis in the pre-Isr. character of the word.

[4] Gall, *Altisr. Kultstatten*, p. 94 *ss.*, Benzinger, *Archäologie*, 3d. ed., p. 316 *ss.*

To this sacred place in bygone days David resorted when the pestilence recorded in II Sam. ch. 24 and I Chr. ch. 21 forced him to seek for atonement. In this story the prophet Gad, David's seer (חוזה), plays a rôle, " and David lifted up his eyes, and saw (ראה) the angel of the Lord " etc., " and David spoke unto the Lord when he saw (ראה) the angel " etc. All this seems to me reason enough to provide an explanation for the name " Valley of Vision " (גיא חזיון) for Jerusalem, found once in Isaiah (xxii, 1) and exclusively used by this court prophet, referring to this event ; in the supreme moment of this drama Jerusalem became " a Valley of Vision ", the memory of which was not forgotten. I can imagine the scene; David looked upon the angel who stood upon the threshing-floor of Ornan the Jebusite while he himself stood in the Valley, probably the Tyropoeon Valley ; if so, this would be the only trace of that valley in the Old Testament. For " a very great valley ", " the valley of the mountains ", connected with another theophany, see Zech, xiv, 4, 5. A place name, recording the appearance of an angel, is *Beer-l'hai-roi*, Gen. xvi, 14.

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[1] See Jastrow, p. 7 and 1641. See also the present writer's article (in Hebrew) in the " Eshkol " encyclopaedia. Bertinoro, the Mishnah-commentator, says rightly : שתיה means יסוד foundation. At present in the Jewish liturgy, all these names, and even a lot more, are applied to the Jews' Sanctuary :

אבן שתיה· בית הבחירה· גרן ארנן· וכי
דביר המוצנע· הר המריה· והר יראה וכ :

and so on through the whole Alphabet (22 letters) in a well-known " Hosannah ". In English : Foundation Stone, Chosen House, Ornan's Threshing-floor, Concealed Adyton, Mount Moriah, The Mount Yireh, etc.

[2] Bab. Talmud *Sanhedrin* 26 b, in the sense of the whole context. For תהו ib. Rashi assumes a different meaning, and Jastrow follows him. Besides, the Notarikon method, applied in this Aggada, cannot be denied.

Again it was Isaiah (xxix, 1) who invested Jerusalem with a peculiar name, saying : " Ah, Ariel, Ariel (אריאל), the city where David encamped " ! That mount Zion is meant can be seen from verse 8 *ib.*, and indeed, strictly speaking, the fortress Zion alone was called " City of David" (II Sam. v, 7, see further below). As to Ariel, the accepted explanation of it is " the hearth of God ", as seems clear from Ez, xliii, 15, 16, and for it the root ארה is assumed meaning " to burn ", a verb which, however, does not exist in Hebrew in this sense.

I see in אריאל a dialectic variant to ירו or ירי found above in Jerusalem and in Jeru-el, Jeri-el. Isaiah is alluding again to the proper meaning of Jeru-salem : a foundation of [king] Salem, here a foundation of El (or a mighty foundation, see below). As a synonym for Ur (God's Sanctuary, Jerusalem) we have " furnace " (Is. xxxi, 9) ; from here it is only a short step to Ezekiel's הראל *har-el* (again a slight variation in spelling), meaning altar, hearth. Hence the following evolution has taken place: Urusalim, J'ru-salem, Ur, a metaphor for the Sanctuary founded in this city, in which the " furnace " denotes the altar, Ari-el, *pars pro toto* the whole city, *Har-el*, the altar as prominent part of the Temple, then altar—hearth. This evolution looks quite natural, and there is nothing in it which can be deemed strange or unparalleled.

As to the literal meaning of the word Ari-el, there are three possibilities : (*a*) A genitive relation by means of the construct state : (the city, the altar) a foundation of El, like Beth-el and similar expressions, (*b*) *el* as an indication of the magnitude or sublimity of the thing determined by it (cp. Ps. xxxvi, 7 ; lxxx, 11 ; Is. xiv, 13, see Ges. s.v. אל) :

a sublime city, a sublime altar, (*c*) as a closed sentence: *ari* is an *el*, *i.e.*, this city is God, this altar is God. Certainly this sounds a shocking statement, but we cannot help it; it lies in the line of old Semitic thinking; cp. Gen. xxxiii, 20 " and he [Jacob] erected there an altar, and called it God of Israel"; Ex. xvii, 15 " and Moses built an altar, and called the name of it Jehovah-nissi[1]; Jg. vi, 24" " then Gideon built an altar, . . . and called it Jehovah-shalōm"; Jer. xxiii, 6 (cp. xxxiii, 16) [I will raise unto David a righteous Branch] . . . and this is his name whereby he shall be called: the Lord our righteousness".

4. How David conquered the Stronghold Zion

In order to lay a better foundation for my explanation as aimed at in the next chapter, I feel compelled to try to reconstruct the text of the narrative in II Sam. v, 6-9 and in I Chr. xi, 4-8, which are well fitted to correct and supplement each other[2]; corrections are indicated by round, supplements by square brackets.

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[1] In the Bible of the American Rabbis there is a note: " That is, The Lord is my banner. The Hebrew text sets a *P'siq* between the two words, probably indicating, that they are not to be taken for subject and predicate. Rashi feels the necessity to explain: Not that the altar has been called " Jehova," etc."—what, however, is the true meaning?

[2] S. R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew text and the topography of the Book of Samuel*, second ed. Oxford 1913, p. 258, is against the AV. and RV. in their rendering of the words כי אם הסירך, but this alone does justice to the intention of the text. For the use of כי אם see Grammar, as quoted above, § 163. As to *sinnōr*, see Benzinger, *Archaologie*, p. 29, n.2. My reconstruction postulates the amalgamation of the two parallel narratives in Sam. and Chronicles. In verse 6 I am adding וכאשר יספן explaining the repetition there. In verse 8 I add וימית (the same would be done by ויכה or a similar verb). In AV. help was arrived at by an inversion. The Bible of the Am. Rabbis, on the other hand, adds, in square brackets, " and [taketh away] the lame and the blind". In the same verse I added [ויאמרו המשליכ] after Numb. xxi, 27; the thing became a slogan! Driver: "The last words of the v. can only mean (RV.m.) " The blind and the lame (*i.e.*, mendicants) shall not [or do not] come into the house", *i.e.*, into the Temple (so LXX): the origin of a common saying (cf. Gen. xxii, 14; I 19, 24) about mendicants being excluded from the Temple is thus explained". I fear Driver was led into this remark by a custom observed in Catholic Churches; nothing of this kind can be observed in Semitic antiquity.

" And the king and his men went to Jerusalem (against the Jebusite) [the same is Jebus, Chr.] [and there was the Jebusite] as inhabitant of the land. He spoke unto David saying : Except thou take away the blind and the lame, thou shalt not come in hither. [And as he continued] saying, David shall not come in hither, David said on that day : Whosoever smiteth the Jebusite and getteth up to the gutter and [killeth] the lame and the blind[1] [first, shall be chief and captain. And Joab, the son of Zeruiah, went up first and was made chief]. Therefore say they [who speak in proverbs] : The blind and the lame shall not come into the house[2]. And David dwelt in the fort, and called it the City of David. And David built round about from Millo and inward ".

In all this nothing is said of Jerusalem herself ; it must be assumed that either she fell easily into the hands of the conqueror at least as soon as the fort fell, and it was not worth while to mention it, or she was in Israelitic hands long before, as some passages in the books of Joshua and Judges seem to indicate. The stronghold Zion—that is another matter. It has not yet been realised that the battle for it was fought in two phases, a fact which has now been made quite clear by the reconstruction of the Biblical text carried out by me. It is related that the fort Zion was taken first, presumably by David himself, aided, of course, by Joab and the whole retinue ; but still the garrison persisted in holding the *sinnōr*—to take it by destruction (as is probably implied in the verb יִגַּע)[3] was the great feat of Joab, who was rewarded for it on the spot. Cp. a similar reward granted by Caleb (Jg. i, 12) and by Saul (I Sam, xvii, 25). Goliath, the Philistine giant, taunted Israel in the same way as is here related of the Jebusite[4]. For the battle taking place in two phases we have the analogy of Abimelech's warfare against Sichem (Jg., ch. 9) ; possessing already the city herself, he had still to fight hard for the tower in her and for some building in it called *ṣ'riaḥ*. A further analogy can be adduced from the battle for Rabbath B'ne- Ammon (II Sam. xii, 27) ; here the Water-City was taken by Joan first, before David came and took the city herself[1].

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[1] that are hated of David's soul,

[2] (Verse 7 transfers to this place) And David took the fort of Zion ; the same is the city of David.

[3] This verb constructed with *b* means always an attack by force (see Ges. *s.v.*).

[4] In view of this provocative speech the singular ישב and ויאמר in II Sam. v, 6 is better than the corresponding plural in I Chr. ii, 5.

An act of bravery during the siege of Zion has been recognised by the early Rabbis as indicated in the verse (Ps. xviii, 30) " For by Thee I run upon a troop, and by my God do I scale a wall "[2]), but until evidence on this can be drawn from other sources this Midrash cannot be used as testimony for what might actually have happened.

As soon as the fort Zion was taken, our texts in II Sam. and I Chr. relate simply " And David dwelt in the stronghold, and called it the city of David " ; so in Sam., the victor himself gives his residence a new name, and not as related in Chr., " therefore they called it the city of David ", the people or the posterity did it. David drove out the former inhabitant and set himself in his place : *sans phrase*, as the French would say. No consecration, no rebuilding took place, and it is wrong to say[3] that David, after the conquest, built *au lieu* of fort Zion his own city. What David did was a pre-eminently political act, as has been observed already (see above) regarding the name Solomon he gave his heir on the throne. No similar renomination is recorded in Biblical times; when Omri created a new capital for the kingdom of Israel, he called his city " Shomron ", after the name of the spot's former possessor and not after his own name ; the name of the former could not be disregarded or it may have been conditioned by the whole business (I K. xvi, 24). David acted on the supreme right of the conqueror ; what he took should bear his name. This name[1] was seemingly fashioned to form a counter to the name Jerusalem=foundation (as of a city) of [king] Salem ; now city of David. Although the new name covered only Zion, it seems that either Jerusalem was the greater prize of the victory, or the two names Zion and Jerusalem became interchangeable even at this time, as is shown by the language of the Prophets and the Prayers till this very day.

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[1] Driver *ad locum* says : עיר המים no doubt a fortification, or part of the city, which protected the water supply. Polybius (V. 71) relates that when Rabbah was besieged by Antiochus III in B.C. 218, he was unable to enter the city till a prisoner revealed the underground passage by which the besieged used to descend to fetch water.

[2] I dwelt on this topic in *Revue des Etudes Juives*, C. (1935), p. 105.

[3] As does Benzinger, *Archäologie*, p. 29.

In some way or another the conquest extended beyond the fort to include a certain part of the " town " itself ; this follows from the report in I Chr. xi, 8 (fuller than II Sam. v, 9) : " And he built the city round about, from Millo even round about ; and Joab repaired the rest of the city ". Raymond Weill, the successful explorer of the city of David[2], commenting on the texts in Sam. and Chr., says : " C'est la ' citadelle ' des Jébuséens, sans doute, la ville tout simplement, puisque cette citadelle s'appelait d'un nom particulier, *Sion*, mais une certaine partie de la ville, la mieux défendue, celle où l'effort des défenseurs s'était concentré, c'est à-dire la vielle acropole qui avait été toute la ville aux jours de sa première histoire." As to Millo, the same author says[3]: soudure de l'enceinte d'ophel avec l'acropole meridionale : le Millo . . . le roi [David] ne changea rien à l'aspect des lieux et, notamment, n'établit point de nouvelles fortifications ". The word מלא itself he explains : comblement, remblait, rempliage. I consent to all this, except what is said of Millo. " Millo " was originally the name of an individual, of a person, after whom probably a whole family, even a clan or tribe was named! This is made clear by the passage Jg. ix, 6, where Beth-Millo is parallel with "men of Sichem" (not that "men" has to be understood also with "Beth-Millo", as some do), and even by II K. xii, 21. The ancestor was seemingly a mighty man who was possessed of great real estates, first in Sichem, then in Jerusalem, or in both at the same time, just as Ornan the Jebusite kept hold on mount Moriah, and just as a similar fact can be deduced from "Garden Uzza" which we will meet below. When the Millo family became extinct, its grounds and fields in Jerusalem still remained known by the ancient name "Millo" and even המלא. This was an abridgment for *beth* M., like *Ge-ben-Hinnom* became abridged into *Gē-Hinnōm*, the gehenna of the N.T. and *gehinnōm* of the Rabbis. In the same way we have twice the place name, *B'ne Ya'aqan*, instead of its full name *B'erōth* B.Y.*c*(see Lexica). The place name, *B'ne B'raq*, lacks completely its proper designation. The reverse happened in names like *'Ar Mōab* and *Rabbath B'ne 'Ammōn.* Especially in Jerusalem do we find many quarters named after persons, either indicating an ownership or a distinction or a memorial; so Tower of Hananel, the gate of Joshua, the governor of the city (II K. xxiii, 8), and the same feature of the city can be noticed later on in the time of the Herods and the ancient Rabbis; cp., f.i., gate of Coponius, gate of Nikanor, tower of Mariamme, tower of Phasael, the shops of the *B'ne Hanan* (Siphre Deut. c, 105)[1]. But I think it is useless to dwell further on this point; in every town of some size and long history you can meet the same phenomenon. Returning to Millo. we surmise that the former place of this family in Jerusalem was derelict or even devastated in David's time. perhaps in consequence of the struggles which took place in those days round the fort Zion, and David, and after him Solomon, had to restore the walls of this part of the city. As to המלא with the article, it is no more astonishing than, say ha-Moria, or ha-Yarden and similar proper names. The matter was, again in the words of R. Weill, "soudure de l'enceinte d'Ophel avec l'acropole meridionale : le Millo". Cp. the wall of Ophel in Neh. iii, 27. This Ophel was, in very very old times, a grazing place or pasture for cattle, a trace of which can be found in the name Migdal-Eder Mi. 4, 8, and Moriah was the threshing place of Ornan the Jebusite, and so was Millo, a manor or farm of this family[1]. From II K. xii, 21 we learn, that king Joash was killed "in Beth-Millo which goeth down to Silla" (some English versions add [on the way] that goeth down, that is in no way indicated in the text). Beth-Millo is a whole territory which had a declivity towards what is called Silla. If anything, this word might mean a rampart, like those quarries mentioned in Jg. iii, 19. This סלא can be derived from the root סלל from which comes סללהי rendered in Targum by מליתא. The same is true for all the personal proper names resembling this in sound : Sallu (ending with *aleph* or *vau*), Sallai, Solu (see Lexica) ; a father is at times inclined to name his new-born by a notion like fort, fortress, rampart, filling, *rempliage*. Three sons of Yether : Yephunneh, Pispa, and Ara (I Chr. vii, 38), might owe their names to this desire ; cp. Kaleb ben Yephunneh (from אבן פנה corner stone), *pissath-bar* Ps. lxxii, 16 riches, Ara abridged from Ariel dealt with above.

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[1] " City of Sihon " Numb. xxi, 27 is no analogy, as it is only poetic and means the residence of this king.

[2] *La Cité de David. Compte rendu des fouilles executées à Jerusalem sur la site de la ville primitive*, etc. Paris (1920). See p. 5 *ss.* For a good survey of this matter see Benzinger, *l.c.*, and J. Garstang, *Joshua Judges* (The Foundations of Bible History), London 1931, p. 388.

[3] REJ. LXXXI (1926), p. 24 and 26. Cp. on Millo II Sam. v, 9, Driver *ad loc.*

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[1] See my contributions *à la Topographie de Jérusalem*, REJ. (1921,) p. 66 *ss*.

To be continued.

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[1] What is said in the Dict. of Siegfried-Stade *s.v.* מלוא bastion and regarding II K. xii, 21, taken from Stade, *Gesch.*, I, 343 : *der Palast in dem Bastionsraum*, is too strange to be accepted. Driver, *l.c.*, *ad* II S. 5, 9, says, מלוא means apparently Filling ; and probably denotes a mound or rampart of earth, and quotes G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, II, 40 f. The same as we have seen with Raymond Weill. Gesenius : a part of the fortification of Jerusalem ; for Jg. ix, 6 : a castle of Sichem.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

The Rediscovery of the Old Testament. By H. H. Rowley. pp. 224 (James Clarke & Co., Ltd., London, 1946).

Old Testament scholars are familiar with the many publications which have flowed from Professor Rowley's pen in recent years, In this book he offers some of the fruits of his labours in the service of a task which all serious students of the Old Testament regard as pressing. Never has Old Testament scholarship been pursued by specialists with more intensity and with more penetration than it is today and never has more knowledge about Israel and the ancient Near East, of which she formed a part, been available than at the present time. Yet it has to be admitted that scholars have not done all that they might have done to demonstrate to the non-specialist how the work they are doing can lead to a fuller appreciation of the religious meaning which is being found in the Old Testament today. It is to this task that Professor Rowley addresses himself in this, his latest, book.

The scope of the book can best be indicated by a recital of the twelve chapter headings. They are The Abiding Value of the Old Testament ; Archæology and the Old Testament (chapters 2 and 3) ; the Meaning of History ; The Growth of Monotheism ; The Significance of Prophecy ; The Rise of Judaism ; The Revelation of God and its Corollaries ; The Nature, Need, and Destiny of Man ; The Meaning of Worship ; the Goal of History ; and The Fulfilment of the Old Testament in the New.

Readers of *P.E.Q.* will doubtless wish to know something about the chapters on archaeology and the Old Testament. It is not the author's intention to investigate archæological problems afresh. His purpose in chapter 2 is to select a few of the more notable archæological discoveries especially those that have been made during the present century in order to illustrate the light thrown on the historical, cultural and religious background of the Old Testament. Among the sites thus selected are Shiloh, Bethshean, Megiddo, Samaria, Lachish, Tel-el-Amarna, Boghaz Keui and Ras Shamra. Brief mention is made also of a few of the papyrus finds which bear on the study of the Old Testament. In chapter 3 the author's aim is to show, by a consideration of the problems surrounding the Exodus and the Conquest, how material from various sources can be brought together, and how difficult the synthesis of all the material can be. Archæologists will sometimes be inclined to hold a different view from that which is given expression here. For example, in his account of the Lachish ostraca, the author says that the military mission, which, according to Ostracon III, went down to Egypt, stopped at a small garrison to secure provisions for the journey (p. 31). The reviewer, however, is not convinced that " provisions " is the correct meaning of the Hebrew word in question. But the author is not writing for archæologists, and to dwell on differences of view on points of this kind would be to lose sight of his main purpose. Rather may attention be focussed upon his salutary remarks concerning the claim that is frequently put forward that archæology has " proved " the truth of the Old Testament. He rightly distinguishes between the historical truth of individual statements in the Old Testament and the spiritual truth that is enshrined in its pages ; and a proper emphasis is laid upon the fact that archæology does not, and cannot, prove the latter (p.41, 58).

As has already been said, the author's purpose is to illustrate the spiritual treasures that are being discovered afresh in the Old Testament. In each chapter important themes are discussed. Considerations of space permit a reference only to one matter, wherein the author makes a specially significant contribution. I refer to his treatment of the antithesis which is so commonly drawn between the Law and the Prophets. He follows Professor Aubrey Johnson in thinking that both priests and prophets were cultic officials, and that they are not to be regarded any longer as opposed types (p. 98). The prophets, therefore, could not be utterly opposed to sacrifice as such ; they opposed only sacrifice which was not the " organ of obedience to God " (p. 109 ; cp. p. 119 and p. 167). As for the priestly Law, it was not intended to be " the substitute for faith, but its organ " (p. 117). The antithesis of Law and Prophets is seen, therefore, to be unjustified. No fundamentally opposing view as to the nature of religion separates the Law from the Prophets, though a difference of emphasis has no doubt to be allowed for. Both share a common unity of purpose, the promotion of faith in and obedience to God. A full recognition of this fact is of great importance for the understanding of the religious meaning of the Old Testament ; and the post-exilic age, which saw the creation of the Law and the birth of Judaism, can now be more clearly viewed as an age, not of spiritual apathy, as it has so often been pictured, but as an age in which men were mindful of the teaching of the great prophets. In this connection the reader may care to have his attention drawn to the author's article " The Unity of the Old Testament " in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, Vol. 29, No.2, February, 1946.

Professor Rowley is not only a scholar. He is a preacher too. He has brought to his task a truly religious mind, by virtue of which he is able, not only to understand the religious teaching of the Old Testament, but to interpret it in accordance with the needs of today. In illustration we may refer to his remarks on the theological and practical consequences of the view that in the prophets human personality was made the organ of the spirit of God (p. 112) ; on the need today to rediscover the Sabbath as a day of worship and spiritual renewal (p. 173) ; and again on the relevance of Israel's vision of a Golden Age in the future to our present age when men are perplexed as to the road they should follow to attain that higher destiny which they believe to be rightfully theirs (p. 197f). On these, as on other matters, Professor Rowley writes with an impressive sincerity.

Professor Rowley has performed his task well, and his book will be a help to many. It should prove especially welcome to all those who are anxious to have made more clear to them why the Old Testament formed from the first, and continues to form, part of the authoritative scriptures of the Christian Church.

De Winton Thomas.

The Excavations at Dura-Europos. Conducted by Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters. Final Report IV. Edited by M. I. Rostovtzeff, A. R. Bellinger, F. E. Brown and C. B. Welles. Part I, Fasc. 1 : The Green Glazed Pottery, by Nicholas Toll ; with technological notes by Frederick R. Matson, pp. 95, 20 plates and figures in the text. Yale University Press ; London, Humphrey Milford and Mr. Geoffrey Cumberlege. 13*s*. 6*d*.

This book is a milestone in the study of Middle Eastern glazed wares and of glaze in general. Ostensibly a fascicle in the final series of the Dura-Europos publication, it treats the green-glazed pottery found on the site with that exhaustiveness which we have learned to demand in regard to other classes of pottery, but which has all too long been denied to Hellenistic, Roman and most later wares. It does much more, for it breaks new ground in the study of pottery from the technical standpoint.

A glance over the Contents will indicate the scope and manner of treatment. A chapter entitled Introductory Remarks discusses Finds, Material and Technique, Chronological Evidence, Place of Origin of Dura Pottery, and Classification. This is followed by a Description of the pottery found, classified by types ; then a Conclusion, which sums up the existing state of our knowledge, and compares the Dura wares with those from Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, and finally a chapter entitled " Technological Notes on the Pottery ", by Frederick R. Matson, in which the body, clay and glaze are examined from the point of view of *e.g.*, colour, mineralogy, texture, hardness and firing temperature.

The most interesting, and indeed exciting, part of the book to the initiated is the technical treatment of the pottery. Comparative analyses are given of potsherds from Dura and from other sites as Seleucia, Nippur and the Fayûm ; the relation of colour to composition and firing temperature is discussed with numerous interesting references to modern technical and industrial publications on glass and ceramics. All this opens up a new perspective in the study of pottery ; not even the intensive work devoted to the sigillate wares has broached such a reservoir of new knowledge, of a kind fundamental to any serious study of pottery, yet hitherto omitted from our consideration. The reason has been, of course, as Mr. Matson remarks (p. 81) the ' scarcity of students with the necessary mineralogical, chemical and physical training, who are interested in archæological problems '. It is to the fortunate circumstance of Mr. Matson's combining these qualifications in himself that the present study is due, as well as to the enlightened generosity of the University of Michigan and the Director of its Museum of Anthropology, Dr. Carl E. Guthe.

As an indication of the kind of suggestive result attained by the technical examination of pottery one may cite Mr. Matson's summary of his conclusions as to the firing temperature employed (p. 95) :

" The firing temperature of the pottery was shown experimentally to be from about 900° to 1100° Cent., and the significance of the colour of the fired clay together with its use as a clue to kiln temperature were indicated. It was not necessary to fire vessels made of Euphrates clay to such high temperatures in order to produce a serviceable ware, yet it was done so frequently as to suggest that either the potters did not have complete control of their kilns which may have been poorly designed, or that there was a force of cultural tradition in manufacturing methods sufficiently strong to cause people to desire only yellow or yellow-green wares because those were the pottery colours to which they were accustomed. This point cannot be definitely determined from the Dura ceramics until a colour distribution study of a large number of pieces has been made. Fuel is not abundant in semi-desert regions, and it requires a great deal of it to maintain high kiln temperatures, so there must have been some good reason why high fired wares were favoured.

It is interesting to note that many of the Al Ubaid and Uruk vessels and sherds found in Iraq were fired to a temperature high enough to cause them to warp and sometimes to stick together. The Dura potters were following good precedent in firing high. One of the interesting problems in Near Eastern ceramic technology is the tracing of the firing temperatures of the pottery, lamps, figurines and bricks during successive periods, for they indicate the degree to which the potters realize the potentialities of their materials. By Islamic times the pottery was often fired to a lower temperature than in earlier periods and was just as serviceable. The potters had finally learned that a very high temperature was often just a waste of fuel. Perhaps they were taught this, not through intentional experimentation but by the scarcity of fuel ".

Or again the discussion concerning the adhesion of the glaze to the clay body and the conditions affecting crazing of the glaze (p. 90) has a direct bearing on *e.g.*, contemporary efforts to produce glazed tiles, equal to the best of former times, for use in the repair of ancient buildings.

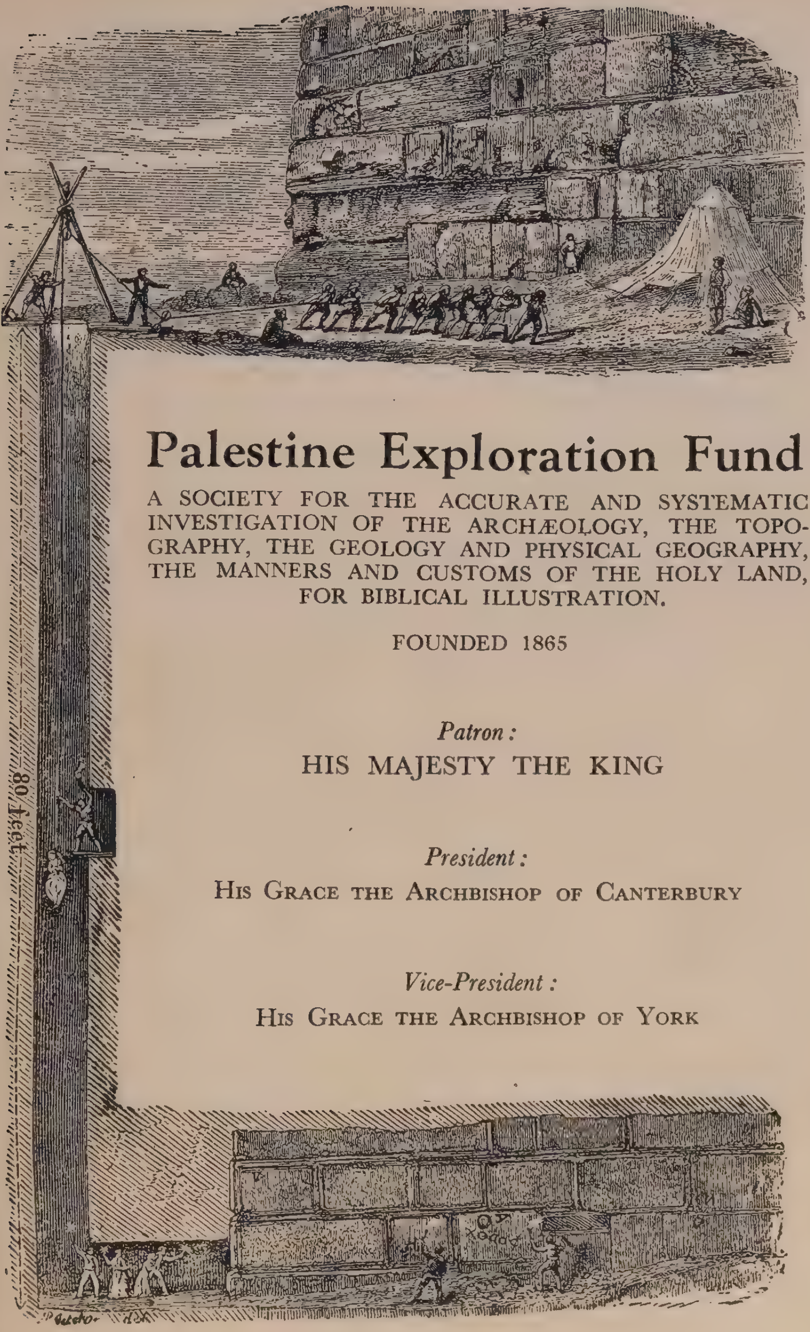
The pottery can be assigned mainly to the period of somewhat more than three centuries ending with the fall of Dura about 256 A.D. to the Sassanians. Together with that of the similar ware excavated at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris by the University of Michigan in 1927–32 and published by N. Debevoise in his " Parthian Pottery ", its treatment represents the sole attempt hitherto to improve on the former habit, *e.g.*, of Dr. Morgan at Susa, of assigning the green-glazed wares to a vague and boundless 'basse epoque', elastic enough to embrace as Mr. Toll says, anything from Achaemenid to Arabic. Mr. Toll surveys the whole field of Mesopotamian glazed wares, tracing briefly their development from glazed frit during the fourth millennium B.C., through the substitution of clay for the crushed quartz of the frit about 1000 B.C. (earlier than in Egypt), down to the green-glazed wares of Seleucid and Parthian times which are the subject of this work. At this period he distinguishes three principal centres of production in Mesopotamia, inter-related but differing mainly in their shapes, *i.e.*, a Northern, Western and Southern Mesopotamian group. In the earlier part of the 1st century B.C. Dura was connected with the Western Mesopotamian group, but this relationship was broken off abruptly at some date in the 1st century B.C., after which it would appear that Dura began to produce on its own.

The book is illustrated with sectional drawings of vases in the text and plates at the end ; these together provide adequate assistance for appreciating the descriptive catalogue of the pottery types, which forms the bulk of the texts. At the same time, and in view of the precedent set by previous volumes of the Dura publication, one might legitimately have looked for some coloured plates to illustrate a subject which so eminently deserves them ; their absence is presumably a war-time economy.

We must now urge our Museum laboratory workers to go ahead on similar lines to Mr. Toll and Mr. Matson. The technical side of pottery-making must not remain much longer a secret to archæologists, but widespread observations will be necessary in order that useful deductions may be drawn.

Congratulations are due to Yale University and the French Academy for their insight and co-operation in the production of such a work.

J. H. Iliffe.



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NOTES AND NEWS

The Editor regrets that a mistake was made in the last issue of this journal. The medal awarded to Professor T. H. Robinson for Biblical Studies was that of the British Academy and not the Royal Society. Another correction which readers are asked to make occurs in the captions of the illustrations to the article *Hasma* in the same issue. The captions to Pl. V, Fig. I and Pl. VI, Fig. 2 should be transposed.

An appointment which will be of interest to readers of this journal is that of Mr. C. H. Inge to the newly created post of Director of Antiquities for the Colony and Protectorate of Aden ; this is in addition to his duties as Political Officer. Mr. Inge was a member of the Tell ed-Duweir Expedition, and succeeded the late Mr. Starkey in 1938 as Director of the excavations at that important site.

There is a well-known passage in 2 Chr. xxvi, 15, which says, "Also he (Uzziah) made in Jerusalem machines skilfully devised, which were placed upon the towers and upon the corners, with which to shoot arrows and great stones." (Goodspeed's Tr.). This statement has been interpreted by some commentators to mean that Uzziah invented, or caused to be placed on the walls of Jerusalem, *ballistæ* and catapults. Since there is no evidence that these engines of war were in existence in the 8th century B.C. the historicity of the passage has been questioned. In JPES, 1947, Mr. Y. Sukenik suggests, with much probability, that the Hebrew term *heshbonoth* may refer to such constructions of the *testudo* type as are represented in various Assyrian reliefs, particularly that of the siege of Lachish by Sennacherib. These constructions, made of leather and wickerwork, took the form of a moveable shield, protecting the archers and slingers from attack. These engines are generally represented as being used in besieging operations, but it is possible that they may also have been used in defence.

Another welcome reappearance to be noted in this issue is that of *Archiv für Orientforschung*, of which we have received Vols. XIII and XIV covering the period from 1939 to 1944. It is impossible to summarize the contents of nearly 1,000 pages, and we must confine ourselves to mentioning a few of the articles which may be of interest to the readers of this journal. In Vol. XIII, parts 1–2, there is a valuable and fully illustrated article by Mrs. Van Buren entitled *Religious Rites and Ritual in the Time of Uruk IV–III.* Mrs. Van Buren's contributions in this field are already well known. In part 3 of the same volume, A. Ungnad discusses the bearing of the new evidence from Mari upon the problem of chronology ; his tabulated results approximate closely to those of Mr. Sidney Smith in his monograph *Alalakh and Chronology.* In parts 4–5 of the same volume, F. Bork has an interesting discussion on Philistine proper names and words for iron implements, found in the Old Testament. Another article by Mrs. Van Buren on *The Seven Dots in Mesopotamian Art and their Meaning* is to be found in part 6 of Vol. XIII. Mrs. Van Buren remarks, " From the early Babylonian period onwards it is increasingly common to find the seven dots arranged like the stars in the constellation of the Pleiades, and in the last quarter of the second millennium the dots are shaped for the first time like stars." The Hebrew word *kīmah*, which is generally taken to refer to the Pleiades, occurs three times in the Old Testament, but has no connection with the number seven. It has, however, been connected etymologically with an Arabic root meaning " group," or " flock."

In Vol. XIV, parts 3–4, there is a long article by A. Jepsen on the history of the political relations between Israel and Damascus, throwing fresh light on that important period of Israelite history. In parts 5–6 of the same volume there is another Old Testament article on the Book of Judges by F. Dornseiff.

The Biblical Archæologist for Feb., 1947, contains an article by Professor G. E. Wright entitled *Biblical Archæology Today.* In it Professor Wright defines Biblical archæology as " a special variety of general archæology which studies the results of the excavators and gleans from them every fact which throws a direct, indirect, or even diffused light upon the Bible." He proceeds to deplore the scarcity of workers in this field, the inadequacy of many of the publications, and, in the past, the lack of competence on the part of a surprising number of excavators. He finds a further handicap to the biblical archæologist in the fact that some of the professional archæologists and of the scholars who interpret their findings are lacking in broad cultural interest and training. He affirms, and rightly, that archæology is a branch of the humanities, and that its aim is the interpretation of the life and culture of ancient civilization in the perspective of the whole history of man. In the main this cannot be denied. In this country neither the Government nor the Universities have so far done much to encourage the study or promote the practice of archæology. Most of the archæological enterprises in this country, and the expeditions which have gone out from this country, have been due to the interest and generosity of private individuals. It has hitherto been difficult to encourage young people to take up archæology as a career unless they happen to have private means. Hence archæology in general, and biblical archæology in particular, have tended to become a *parergon* of scholars already professing other subjects, or a hobby for those who can afford to indulge in it.

In the issue of the *Revue Biblique* for April, 1947, there is an interesting article by R. P. Abel on the siege of Jerusalem by Pompey. The subject is a familiar one, but the reverend father has a number of valuable points to make. He uses the evidence of the contemporary Psalms of Solomon to illustrate the feelings of Pharisaic Judaism, and the altered attitude towards the Roman power. He points out that the Synagogue of the Libertines, mentioned in Acts 6, 9, was composed of Jewish captives who had been carried to Rome for Pompey's triumph, sold as slaves, and after liberation by their Roman masters, had returned to Jerusalem.

In the July, 1947, issue of the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* an announcement is made which will be of interest to students of cuneiform literature. It is the appearance of a new journal in the field of the ancient Near East, the *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, edited by A. Goetze, T. Jacobsen, and Abraham Sachs, and published by the American Schools of Oriental Research on behalf of the Baghdad School. The first issue contains the following articles : " Gilgamesh and the Land of the Living," by S. N. Kramer ; "Additions to the Cuneiform Syllabary," by G. R. Driver ; " The Akkadian Passive," by A. Goetze ; " Hittite *dalagnula* and *barganula*," by H. Pedersen ; " Note sur la conjugaison élamite," by René Labat ; " Two Neo-Babylonian Metrological Tables from Nippur," by A. Sachs ; and " Ugaritic *mzrgl*," by A Goetze. In addition, there are three critical book reviews. The subscription price is 6 dollars a year, payable to the American Schools of Oriental Research, 409, Prospect St., New Haven II, Connecticut. The same issue of JNES has an article by Leroy Waterman on *The Treasuries of Solomon's Private Chapel*.

The 4th part of Volume XX of *Syria*, which we had not received when the last issue of this journal went to press, contains Professor Schaeffer's report of the 10th and 11th campaigns at Ras Shamra, the last before the outbreak of war. Among the most interesting discoveries of these two seasons were the diplomatic and economic archives of the kings of Ugarit ; one of the letters found in this collection was from the well-known Hittite king Suppiluliuma to the Ugaritic king Niqmad. Most of the newly discovered texts are in the alphabetic script of Ras Shamra, but some are in Accadian. A further most important discovery was the existence of fortifications intended to protect the palace and the principal gate of Ugarit on the seaward side. Concerning these fortifications Prof. Schaeffer remarks : " But if, at present, we are ignorant of the exact extent to which Syrian military engineers participated in the construction of the fortress of Ugarit, we can now, on the other hand, be certain of the marked influence of Mycenæan architecture on this work."

In the April–September number of the *Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society* Prof. Reifenberg reports the discovery of a new Hebrew inscription of the pre-exilic period at the village of Silwan (Siloam) near Jerusalem. It is badly mutilated, and only the words " burial " and " who " can be made out with certainty. According to the form of the letters the inscription probably belongs to the beginning of the 8th century B.C. There was probably a Hebrew necropolis near the village, and Prof. Reifenberg suggests that the tombs of the Kings of Judah may also have been in the same neighbourhood.

Owing to the greatly increased cost of production of this journal, the Editor is obliged to announce that in future it will be necessary to print in transcription any Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, or Arabic material contained in articles accepted for publication. Contributors are accordingly requested to transcribe any such material which they may need to embody in their contributions. It will also help to reduce costs if contributors will be kind enough, where possible, to send in their contributions in type-script. Illustrations in line drawing should be sufficiently clear for direct reproduction without it being necessary to have them re-drawn by a draughtsman.

THE BEGINNINGS OF PHŒNICIAN EPIGRAPHY ACCORDING TO A LETTER WRITTEN BY WILHELM GESENIUS IN 1835[1]

By Otto Eissfeldt

The letter on which this lecture will be based was written from Halle to a scholar in Paris by Wilhelm Gesenius directly after his return from a trip to Leiden and London, giving ample proof of a spirit of amicable collaboration among the scholars of different nations. This is also the reason why I think it appropriate to make its contents known for the first time at a meeting of the Society for Old Testament Study, which, from its very beginnings, has been eager to give to our subject a world-wide scope. At the same time I want to draw the attention of my audience, though a little belated, to the hundredth anniversary of Wilhelm Gesenius's death on October 23rd, 1842, which, on account of the war, was probably not celebrated in this country. For Gesenius was not only closely connected during his lifetime with British scholarship, as evidenced by the strong support given to his scholarly work by the Royal Asiatic Society[2] and his election to membership of the Society, but to this day he enjoys a great reputation in Great Britain, as well as all over the world.

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[1] Paper read to the Society for Old Testament Study at Oxford, July 23, 1947. The German text, with full notes, will appear as Heft 5 of Eissfeldt's *Beiträge zur Religionsgeschichte des Altertums*.

[2] In his *Scripturæ linguæque Phœniciæ Monumenta quotquot supersunt*, 1837, which was dedicated "Regiæ Academiæ Litterarum Borussicæ et Regiæ Societati Asiaticæ Magnæ Britanniæ et Hiberniæ," Gesenius publishes on pp. xxiv f. the text of a request addressed by the Royal Asiatic Society to the British consular representatives in Africa to further by every means his scholarly work, which is worth reproducing here: "London, 27. Febr. 1836. Sir, The . . . Orientalist Dr. Gesenius, Professor of Hebrew in the University of Halle, in Prussia, who has been for many years engaged in enquiries respecting Coins and Inscriptions in the Phœnician and Carthaginian character, has formed the plan of uniting in a body, and commenting upon, as many of these ancient

In 1932 the Theological Seminary of the Martin Luther University of Halle-Wittenberg acquired, second-hand, a copy of one of Gesenius's works. The copy had probably belonged originally to the collection of Mark Lidzbarski (d. 1928). The title of the work is *Paläographische Studien über phönizische und punische Schrift* (Leipzig, Fr. Ch. W. Vogel, 1835), attached to which are : (1) Guilielmi Gesenii *Disputatio de inscriptione Punica Libyca* (Leipzig, Fr. Ch. W. Vogel, 1836) ; (2) a prospectus, written in French and dated February, 1836, of a work printed by Fr. Ch. W. Vogel at Leipzig and published by him a year later, *viz.*, Guil. Gesenius, *Scripturæ linguæque Phœniciæ Monumenta quotquot supersunt* (Leipzig, Fr. Ch. W. Vogel, 1837) ; (3) Gesenius, *Paläographie* (Special

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monuments as have hitherto been published, or have been found by him in the principal Museums and Collections of Antiquities in Europe, which he has most carefully examined for that purpose. The Committee of Correspondence of the Royal Asiatic Society, fully appreciating the importance of this plan for improving our knowledge of one of the most ancient languages of the East, bearing the nearest relation to the Hebrew ; and entertaining at the same time the highest opinion of the talent already shewn by Dr. Gesenius in researches of this kind, is desirous of assisting him as much as possible in the execution of his work, by endeavouring to place further materials within his reach. With this view the Committee has requested me to draw your attention to the subject, as your residence in a country once occupied by Phœnician settlers may have afforded you opportunities of obtaining valuable information, by the communication of which to Dr. Gesenius, through this Society, you would render an important service to literature. The Committee would feel especially obliged to you for casts or accurate drawings of any ancient monuments, whether inscriptions or coins, bearing Phœnician characters, that you may have an opportunity of procuring ; and such copies would have additional value if accompanied by some remarks as to the spot where the originals were found, or in whose possession they are. The Committee proposes to send, for Dr. Gesenius's inspection and use, such documents as, in consequence of this letter, you may be pleased to favor it with ; and after he has made use of them, to deposit the same in the Museum of the Royal Asiatic Society. I have the honor to be etc. (Signed) H. HARKNESS, Secretary."

Print from Ersch-Gruber's *Allgemeine Encyklopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste* 3rd section, IX. vol., 1837, pp. 287–316 and Plates 1–3). Within the same covers lay a letter written by Gesenius on October 20, 1835, from Halle to a German scholar residing in Paris at that time and addressed by Gesenius as "Reverend Doctor," with the request to examine three Phœnician-Punic inscriptions. As Gesenius in his *Scripturæ linguæque Phœniciæ Monumenta*, which was published almost two years later, mentions on pp. xiii, xxv, 93 f., 102, 118 f. his obligation to E. G. Schultz of Kœnigsberg after the mention of the Parisian archæologist Raoul Rochette (d. 1854), it is obvious that our letter was addressed to the aforementioned E. G. Schultz, especially as the activities and assertions of Schultz referred to in *Monumenta* on pp. 93 f., 102, 118 f. represent the fulfilment of the request made in the letter.

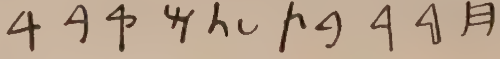
In his letter Gesenius refers to a copy of his recently published *Paläographische Studien* which he had sent to Dr. Schultz, together with his letter, stating that he had added to the Phœnician-Greek candelabra inscription—called Melitensis I in his *Monumenta*—on Plate 2 the signs the checking of which would be specially important to him. Our copy of the *Paläographische Studien* contains this glossary. On its Tabula II the figures 1–6 are added by Gesenius to six signs of the Phœnician text of this Phœnician-Greek bilingual, *viz.*—counted from the right—the third and seventeenth of the first line, and the fourth, eighth, thirteenth and sixteenth of the second line, and its right margin is filled in with the repetition of these six signs and the following addition distinctly written in Gesenius's handwriting: "The most important difference is No. 3. Will you kindly give me the most exact information possible on the subject?" Thus the volume which found its way in 1932 into the library of the Theological Seminary at Halle contains the copy of the *Paläographische Studien* which Gesenius had sent on October 20, 1835, to E. G. Schultz in Paris immediately on his return from his journey to Leiden and London, where he had spent the month of September and the first half of

October, 1835, in checking the Phœnician and Punic inscriptions of these places. Schultz probably had the copy in question bound together with the copies of the other three works by Gesenius, as the style of the binding indicates the second third of the nineteenth century. The letter written in 1835 and sent together with this copy of the *Paläographische Studien* to Paris, has remained lying in the book and has always shared its fortunes. The wording of the letter runs as follows :

"Halle, Oct. 20, 1835.

Reverend Doctor,

You will have been informed by Professor Roediger that it was my intention to return home from London via Paris, in which case I should have been looking forward to making your acquaintance there. However, a spell of bad weather, and the advanced time of the year caused me to return straight home without making a circuit, especially as I had no urgent business to transact in Paris for my present purpose. This is, as you may have known, or will gather from the preface or the supplementary words of the enclosed book, to see *myself* and to impress, or to copy exactly, as many as possible of the originals of the Phœnician monuments, as I have found nearly *all* existing copies more or less inexact. On the other hand, I have drawings of the Parisian monuments which were executed very exactly by Prof. Hohlenberg in 1825, or at least I have reason to believe them to be exact copies. In order, however, to be also here *on the safe side* I take the liberty of applying to you (especially as Dr. Wolf has already left Paris) to avail myself of your kind offer made in a former letter (to which I shall refer later on). I should like to have an exact verification of my copies, and shall immediately explain to you my request: so far as I am informed the Parisian collections contain only the following three Phœnician monuments : (1) the Phœnician-Greek Candelabra Inscription in the Bibliothèque Mazarin, which you will find in my booklet on Plate 2, according to Hohlenberg's copy. Some criticism has been passed on this copy by Lindberg in his work on this inscription, Hauniæ, 1828, after a copy which had been submitted to him by Herr von Bröndsted, and therefore I am most anxious to learn where the truth is to be found. I have drawn the character signs given differently by Lindberg and added them to the enclosed copy on Plate 2 and ask you now to procure me an *impression* of these special characters at least. You may be better informed than myself as to the best method of the reproduction of inscriptions, or maybe not, and in that case I should like to add the following. The *most beautiful* way of reproduction is supposed to be the one by means of the so-called *papier-mâché* which is put in a soaked condition on a stone and gradually made to harden until it becomes as hard as real stone. I have heard of this method. however, only by word of mouth from Prof. Rauch of Berlin and the late Minister von Humboldt and do not know whether you have the material over there. So *the second* method will probably do. Take some of the tough, unsized paper of which I am enclosing some in this letter, in order to avoid all difficulties ; moisten it, put it on the stone, then with a dry kerchief, preferably a silk handkerchief, and *with your finger*, press the letter into it, and let it then dry on the stone. You should not moisten the paper on the stone, so that no water can penetrate between the stone and the paper. If the stone is walled in and cannot be put in a horizontal position, the paper should be stuck with some glue at the sides. *A third* method, which can only be applied to quite smooth stones, is to put writing paper on the stone, on top of it a piece of leather, smeared with black-lead and soap and evenly distributed over it by means of a spatula, so that the paper becomes quite black and the characters remain white. But this method seems to be too circumstantial and I should advise you to apply the second, which however, requires an exact *copying* of the character, especially if it is a little indistinct, and that is also the reason why I request you kindly to do so with the *litteris incertis* mentioned. The second monument is a Phœnician inscription in the Antiquity Hall in Paris, 4 lines. The beginning is :



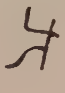
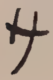
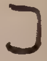
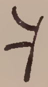
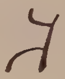
broken off on its right side. I should like to have a very exact impression of it on the above paper, together with a description of the stone. The third monument is in the Museum of the Louvre, Salle des Candelabres, labelled No. 983, rather high walled up in a window, behind a statue of the goddess Diana. I have used Hohlenberg's copy of it in Böckh's Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum, Part I, page 523. But it seems to be reduced in size and I should like to have it in the size of the original. So kindly let me also have an impression of it. And that is also my last request, with the addition of asking you to let me have the impressions *at your earliest convenience*, as I should like to deliver the drawings as quickly as possible to the printer's shop as the commentaries on them are, to a great extent at least, already prepared.

Will you be so kind as to hand the other little parcel to M. Quatremère at your earliest convenience.

I have to apologize for not having replied personally and immediately to your kind letter with the review attached. But my domestic situation was such that I feel absolutely certain I could not undergo it for a second time (besides myself and my wife, our seven children were ill with typhoid fever and three of them have fallen victims to that disease). I therefore gladly accepted friend Roediger's offer to write in my stead.

If you could spare the time, when sending me what I request, to add something concerning your studies in Paris and other scientific news from Paris—you will know what is of interest to me—I should be very pleased. But I should be still happier if, on your return to Germany, I might make your personal acquaintance. Promise me not to pass Halle without seeing me. I should so much like to be able to reciprocate your kindness in one way or another.

With kindest regards,
Yours very sincerely,
GESENIUS.

P.S. I beg to draw your attention again to the fact that with indistinct characters, and in order to achieve an exact copy, it is necessary to use a strong light (and to darken the space round the inscription if possible) and to illuminate the character from different sides. I hope to receive a very distinct copy of Inscription No. 1, the fourth letter in the second line, which Hohlenberg draws  and Lindberg , which can hardly be possible. It ought to be  which looks in this inscription like  or else ."

The recipient of this letter and the persons quoted in it are all known, mostly as orientalists to whom we are especially indebted for contributions to Phœnician epigraphy. The recipient, Ernst Gustav Schultz, born on May 20th, 1811, at Döbern near Preussisch-Holland in East Prussia, studied divinity at Königsberg and Paris, as well as oriental languages. In 1838 the status of a lecturer at Königsberg was conferred on him in virtue of his dissertation on *Variæ Lectiones e codice MS. Parisiensi collectæ ad Abulfaragii Babbaghæ carmine a Philippo Wolffio v.d. edita* (Königsberg, 1838). He became Prussian vice-consul in 1842 and in 1845 consul in Syria and Palestine, with the seat of the consulate in Jerusalem. He did good service in connection with the topography of Jerusalem, as well as in the awakening of interest in Syria and Palestine among the Germans. He died in Jerusalem on October 22, 1851. Emil Roediger, mentioned at the beginning and at the end of our letter, was born on October 13, 1801, at Sangerhausen. He lost his parents at an early age and was educated in the orphanage established by August Hermann Francke at Halle. After having passed his matriculation, he attended the University of Halle in order to study divinity and oriental languages, especially with

Gesenius. In 1830 the status of a non-official professor, and in 1835 the status of an official professor of oriental languages at Halle was conferred on him. In 1860 he was called to Berlin in the same capacity and died there on June 15, 1874. We need not enumerate the works of this well-known scholar. It will be sufficient to remember that he—as our letter points out clearly—was closely connected in friendship to Gesenius and continued the scholarly work of his teacher in a very reverent way as the editor of his Hebrew Grammar for Schools, which appeared between 1845 and 1872 in its 14th to 21st editions, and also as the compiler and completer of his *Thesaurus philologicus criticus linguae Hebraeae et Chaldaeae Veteris Testamenti*. Matthias Hagen Hohlenberg was born on March 18, 1797, at Copenhagen. After having studied divinity and oriental languages at Copenhagen, and having passed his official examination there and attained the degree of Doctor of Divinity, he continued his studies from 1822 onward in Berlin, Halle and Paris, especially at Halle with Gesenius and in Paris with Silvestre de Sacy and Étienne Quatremère. In 1825 he returned to Copenhagen and became lecturer there in 1825, non-official professor in 1827 and in 1831 official professor of divinity. He died on June 22, 1845, at Frederiksberg, near Copenhagen. According to our letter and to the corresponding preface to the *Paläographische Studien* of 1835, Hohlenberg had drawn in Paris an exact imitation of the Parisian copy of the Maltese Phœnician-Greek bilingual, Melitensis I, which Gesenius asked E. G. Schultz to check. Besides, Hohlenberg belonged, together with Étienne Quatremère—mentioned too in our letter—and the Sanskrit investigator Friedrich Rosen, who died in London in 1837, to the "highly esteemed friends" to whom this book was dedicated "as a token of everlasting friendship and fervent esteem." D. Wolf, who is mentioned in Gesenius's letter as having already left Paris, in spite of the fact that his name was written with one *f* only, can be nobody but Philipp W. Wolff, born on December 22, 1810, at Ulm. After having studied divinity and oriental languages at Tübingen and Halle, where he chiefly attended Gesenius's lectures, the degree of Doctor of Philosophy was conferred on him in 1834 at Halle for his work on *Abulfaragii Babbaghæ Carminum Specimen ex codice Gothano*. It was precisely the work which was supplemented in 1838 by E. G. Schultz by the dissertation mentioned above. He continued his studies in Paris under de Sacy, qualified in 1835 at Tübingen in the languages and literatures of the orient, filled the Evangelical incumbency at Rottweil and published different works on oriental subjects and on Palestine during this time, and also later on when he had retired at Tübingen, up to his death on January 1, 1894. Jacob Christian Lindberg was born on January 14, 1797, at Ribe in Denmark. After having studied divinity and oriental languages at Copenhagen, he worked in the educational line and as a collaborator of the Danish bishop Friedrich Ch. K. H. Münter (d. 1830), known as the author of the *Religion der Karthager*, published for the first time in 1816 and for the second time in 1821. He was helped by Lindberg in his studies on Punic inscriptions and coins. The degree of Doctor of Philosophy was conferred on Lindberg for his work covering this subject, viz., *De inscriptione Melitensi Phœnicia-Graeca Commentatio* in 1828 at Copenhagen. Later on he continued work in this sphere only as a matter of secondary importance, and devoted all his energies to ecclesiastical life as a free theological author and orator until he was appointed vicar of Tingsted on Falster in 1844. Subsequently he moved to Lille Lyngsby near Fredriksvaerk, where he died on February 10, 1857. Our letter refers to Lindberg's doctoral dissertation and says of it that its author had criticized something in Hohlenberg's copy of the Maltese Phœnician-Greek bilingual in the way Gesenius had made use of it in his *Paläographische Studien*. Peter Oluf Bröndsted, to whom Lindberg was indebted for the copy of that bilingual on which he relies in his polemics against Hohlenberg and Gesenius, is the Danish philologian and archæologist who has become known chiefly through his work published in Paris on *Voyages et Recherches dans la Grèce* I, 1825, II, 1830. He was born on November 17, 1780, at Fruering. After having studied divinity and philology at Copenhagen, he travelled from 1806 to 1832 in Greece and Italy, as well as in France and England. In 1832 he was appointed Director of the Royal Coin and Medal Collection, Professor of Philology and Archæology at Copenhagen, and was in charge of these offices until he died on June 26, 1842.

Prof. Rauch of Berlin and the late Minister von Humboldt, who, according to our letter, had informed Gesenius by word of mouth about the method of copying inscriptions with papier-mâché, are doubtless the famous sculptor Christian Rauch (d. 1857), from 1819 Professor at the Prussian Academy of Fine Art, who was at the time of our letter at the zenith of his life and creative activity, and Wilhelm von Humboldt, who had passed away some six months before our letter was written. Gesenius had probably made Rauch's acquaintance at Halle where the latter's son-in-law, Eduard d'Alton, was Professor of Anatomy and Physiology at the University since 1834. Rauch paid frequent visits to the d'Altons at Halle, three such visits being on record in 1835. The first was paid in June and the third late in October, at the very time when Gesenius returned from his trip to Leiden and London and wrote our letter, while the second coincided with the date of Gesenius's travel abroad. Thus Rauch's first and third visits might have led to their meeting. With Wilhelm von Humboldt Gesenius had been connected for a longer time past, as is shown by a sentence in a letter written by Humboldt on December 12, 1826, to his wife Frau Caroline, née von Dacheröden, at Schulpforta, situated about 40 km. to the south of Halle : " To-day a coachman drove me very slowly from Bitterfeld to Halle, but in this way I could save half of his tip. Then I visited some professors and stayed especially with Gesenius by whom I wanted to be enlightened on the Phœnician language and writing, of which nobody in Europe knows as much as he, and at last arrived here at 4.30." If Gesenius can tell us of advice by word of mouth which he received from Rauch and Humboldt, this only confirms the evidence we have from other quarters, that he entertained relations with all the spiritual leaders of his time, including also Goethe.

To that circle, too, belonged the eminent classical philologian of the University of Berlin, August Böckh (d. 1867), the creator of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum*, to whose first volume, published in 1828, Gesenius had contributed the Phœnician text of the Phœnician-Greek bilingual Atheniensis II, according to Hohlenberg. Incidentally, as he mentioned nine years later in his *Scripturæ linguæque Phœniciæ Monumenta*, he had made a slight mistake in so far as the character *m* in the name of the god Melqart, which occurs in it, had not been quite correctly shaped.

Just as the persons mentioned in our letter, so the events of Gesenius's life spoken of in these lines, are also known to us from other sources, though here they appear in a new setting. Gesenius also speaks in his supplementary words to his *Paläographische Studien*, dated Halle, August 30, 1835, of his intended journey to London in the autumn of 1835, mentioned at the beginning of our letter. In his supplementary words Gesenius says he is about to make a journey to Holland and England and maybe also to Paris for his palæographical studies. He mentions his trip again in his Præfatio to the *Monumenta*, written on the Ides of April, 1837, *i.e.*, eighteen months after his visits to Leiden and London, on pages XII and XIII, explaining that owing to the prevailing bad weather he could not carry out his intention to visit Paris as well. Thus the trip must have extended over September and the first half of October, 1835. And to the disastrous disease which befell the Geseniuses in the summer of 1835 and robbed them of three of their children, the inscription on the well-preserved tombstone of the family grave in the cemetery of Halle called " Stadtgottesacker " bears witness. Whilst on its front side the following words are engraved : " Wilhelm Gesenius, Doctor and Professor of Divinity at Halle, born 3. Febr. 1786, died 23. Oct. 1842—Henriette Gesenius, née Schneidewind, born 26. Aug. 1797, died 12. Aug. 1853," the two sides bear the names, together with that of a daughter aged three and already dead in

1824, of those who were snatched away by the malignant illness, *viz.*, "Clara Cäcilie born 9. Febr. 1828, died 18. May 1835—Auguste Wilh. Sophie, born 10. April 1816, died 23. June 1835—Carl Eduard Alexander, born 26. March 1824, died 13. July 1835."

This sad family tragedy, which every reader of the tombstone inscription will consider touching and mournful even in our own days, is only casually mentioned in a note between parentheses in our letter. It is only an academic, unemotional matter with which the letter deals, *viz.*, the fixing of the proper wording of the three Phœnician-Punic inscriptions existing at that time in Paris and called in the *Monumenta* Melitensis I, Melitensis II and Atheniensis II. The first, a Phœnician-Greek bilingual from Malta, probably originating in the second century B.C., was written in duplicate, showing the same text, on the socles of two marble pillars of a candelabra type, one of which is standing in the Louvre in Paris and the other in the Museum of La Valetta in Malta. The wording is as follows:

לאדנן למלקרת בעל צר אש נדר
To our Lord Melqart, Ba'al of Tyre, which vowed

עבדך עבדאסר ואחי אסרשמר
thy servant Abdosir and his brother Osiršamar,

שן בן אסרשמר בן עבדאסר כשמע
the two sons of Osiršamar, son of Abdosir, for he has heard

קלם יברכם
their voice. May he bless them!

Διονύσιος καὶ Σαραπίων οἱ Dionysios and Sarapion, sons
Σαραπίωνος Τύριοι of Sarapion, Tyrians,
Ἡρακλεῖ ἀρχηγέτει to Heracles, lord of the city.

The second inscription, a Punic one, probably a century older and also from Malta, is standing on a marble block, now 21 cm. by 23 cm., which was quite undamaged when found in 1761, but later lost a piece from its left side, so that already Gesenius was forced to consult older reproductions with reference to the signs lost on that piece. These older reproductions had been made from the undamaged stone, but the rudimentary stage of Phœnician-Punic epigraphy at that time makes them liable to a well-founded suspicion of not being absolutely exact, and therefore only to be used with caution. Thus the signs which were lost together with the piece of stone cannot be looked upon as in every respect reliable. In the following reproduction of the text they are marked by square brackets :

חדר בת עלם קבר נ[פעל]

Chamber, eternal house, grave, re[stored]

נקי בכלתי י[רח]

his cave from my fortune. M[onth]

מרפאם בשת ת[נב]

Marpe' im in the year of Ḥa[nba]

על בן בדמל[ך]

'l, son of Badmal[ik].

The third inscription, more or less of the same period as the second, from Athens, a Phœnician-Greek bilingual, is standing on a marble tomb cippus, the upper part of which is showing a beautiful ornament of tendrils, leaves and blossoms, while the lower (on the right below, incomplete) two thirds bear the inscription, above the Phœnician, below—separated by two rosettes—the Greek text :

לבנחדש בן עבדמלקרת

To Benḥodeš, the son of 'Abdmelqart,

בן עבדשמש בן תגנץ אש כתי

son of 'Abdšamš, son of *tgnṣ*, Kittite.

Νουμήνιος Numenios,

Κιτιεύ[ς] Kitti[te].

The information asked for by Gesenius in his letter respecting certain characters refers in the case of the first of these inscriptions to the third letter (*d*) and the seventeenth (') of the first line, and to the fourth (*k*), the eighth ('), the thirteenth (ḥ) and the sixteenth (*s*) of the second line, especially, as pointed out by the postscript, to the fourth sign of this line. His postulation that here a sign corresponding to the *k* of the Hebrew square writing ought to be standing, and that the shape given by him in his *Paläographische Studien* in accordance with Hohlenberg's system, contrary to those submitted by Lindberg, was right, led to a more exact imitation of certain signs in the *Monumenta*, but could not alter anything in the interpretation of them given in the *Paläographische Studien*.

With regard to the second inscription, of which Gesenius quotes the first four words חדר בת עלם קבר—obviously in their correct interpretation, already given by his predecessors, " chamber, house, eternity, tomb "—the letter contains an error in so far as it says the stone was broken on the right side. In reality the left was damaged and so it is also given in the *Monumenta*, page 102. The question asked by Gesenius, what kind of stone it was, must have been answered by Schultz that it was a marble. In any case the stone is stated to be marble in the *Monumenta*, page 103.

Of the third inscription Gesenius asked in his letter for an impression of the same size as the original and Schultz fulfilled his request. So Gesenius was able to reproduce such an impression on Table 9 of his *Monumenta*, and to remark on pp. 118 f. that he owes it to Schultz.

Altogether our letter shows that Gesenius demanded a very high standard from Phœnician-Punic epigraphical studies, which were at that time in a still very rudimentary stage and which were, owing to this circumstance, handicapped by many shortcomings, He himself tried at least to meet all demands. Many requirements—thus Gesenius stressed in the Præfatio of the *Monumenta*—had to be realized before a more or less adequate interpretation of Phœnician-Punic inscriptions could be expected. To begin with, absolutely reliable copies or impressions of the inscriptions were required. Secondly, a firm basis had to be laid down for Phœnician-Punic palæography which permits it to define clearly the shape and meaning of the different signs. A thorough knowledge of the Phœnician-Punic language and its correct classification among the Semitic languages as a whole is the third requirement, and the fourth is the consideration of the kind and species of the monument bearing an inscription. These four requirements could be most easily satisfied if all the inscriptions were collected in one work and made accessible to investigation, in contrast to the method employed in his time, *viz.*, that the inscriptions were scattered in different, sometimes even in very inaccessible, publications. With his *Scripturæ linguæque Phœniciæ Monumenta* Gesenius handed down to posterity such an instrument for investigation as should help to bring about the following : " Differences of opinion should at last be limited, and the study of Phœnician should attain the position due to it." For this work represents a collection of all Phœnician-Punic inscriptions available at that time, thus satisfying the abovementioned requirement, and it does not permit any interpretation of the texts quoted which does not satisfy the three demands, *viz.*, that the deciphering of the inscriptions should be correct, that it should correspond to the laws of the Phœnician-Punic language, and that it should represent a sense suitable to the monument in question. The checking of the third is facilitated by the fact that the inscriptions are accompanied, as far as possible, by illustrations of the monuments, steles, vessels, coins, etc., on which they stand.

Our letter deals with the fulfilment of the first of these three demands, and the trip to Leiden and London mentioned in its beginning, also served this purpose. Its writer tries to secure quite reliable copies of the inscriptions in question, and the firm fixing of the signs which seem to permit different interpretations. The urgency with which Gesenius demands from the recipient of his letter exactitude and carefulness in the re-modelling of inscriptions or parts of inscriptions, or the drawing of single characters therein, is justified by the fact that he applies the same high standard to his own research work in the sphere of Phœnician-Punic epigraphy. Thus our letter offers its evidence that the great success of his *Scripturæ linguæque Phœniciæ Monumenta*—of which Mark Lidzbarski says in his *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik* in 1898 that Gesenius has in this work erected for himself a *monumentum aere perennius*—was not due to any accident, but was the reward of great pains and much strenuous work. This testimony, given to a work dating from the very beginning of Phœnician epigraphy, means at the same time a legacy and an obligation for us. In the century that has passed since the writing of our letter and the publication of the *Monumenta*, the material of Phœnician-Punic inscriptions—given by Gesenius as amounting to 77 real inscriptions and 60 coin legends—has enormously increased and during the last two decades the very important texts from Ras Shamra have been added. They are drawn up in quite a new kind of writing, *viz.* in alphabetic cuneiform characters. But the requirements for the task, only begun in this new field, remain the same as those demanded by Gesenius, and among them those stressed in our letter are of the greatest importance, *i.e.*, exact copying of the text and a distinct fixing of the shapes of the characters. This demand for an exact facsimile of the text and a clear fixing of the shapes of the characters not only refers to newly appearing texts, but on the contrary the old well-known ones have to be checked over and over again, to see whether this demand has been fully satisfied. How necessary such a checking may prove will be illustrated in conclusion by an example that not only has importance for Phœnician epigraphy, but much beyond it in the study of Phœnician-Punic religious history, and even for a better understanding of the Old Testament.

Two inscriptions found in Malta in 1820 and called by Gesenius in his *Monumenta* Melitensis III and IV are, ever since their interpretation in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, I ii, 1883, regarded in general as twin inscriptions in so far as they are not only consecrated to the same god Baʿalḥammān—which is certain—but also dedicated by the same person, *i.e.*, Naḥūm. In reality only the last character of the author's name, which consists of three signs, exists on the second inscription. In view of the first inscription which clearly indicates a certain Naḥūm as the founder, this last character is read as an *m* and is supplemented to give *nḥm* = Naḥūm. Quite recently, however, René Dussaud points out in his article on " Précisions épigraphiques touchant les sacrifices puniques d'enfants," which appeared in 1946 in the *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, that the only existing character of the founder's name in Melitensis IV should be read not as *m* but as *š*, and should probably be supplemented to read *'rš* = Ariš, a proper name occurring rather often in Phœnician-Punic inscriptions. And not only did Gesenius read this letter as š in his *Monumenta* of 1837, but also A. H. Hamaker in his *Miscellanea Phœnicia* of 1832, where this inscription was published for the first time, so read. But if this is correct then the hypothesis of the two inscriptions being twins collapses entirely, and this fact has considerable consequences for the interpretation of their contents. But still more important is a second observation made by Dussaud, *viz.*, the second character on the second line of Melitensis IV has to be deciphered as *m* and not as *s*. The last three characters of the first line of this inscription, and the first three of the second line are generally read, since the time of Gesenius, as *mlk 'sr*. Now the explanations of the first part of this pair of words differ in so far as some scholars interpret it as *malk* = king, whereas the others read *mal 'ak* = messenger, and each of these two explanations of *mlk* leaves several possibilities open for the understanding of the pair of words *mlk 'sr*. The second part on the other hand, is generally accepted as the name of the god Osiris. Dussaud now explains very convincingly that this second part reads in reality not *'sr*, but *'mr*, and that the end of line 1 of our inscription with the beginning of its line 2 would represent *mlk 'mr*, which means the sacrifice of a lamb, evidenced in several Punic inscriptions and in its Latin transcriptions given as *molchomor*, or the like. In my book, published in 1935, *Molk als Opferbegriff im Punischen und Hebräischen und das Ende des Gottes Moloch*, in which I pleaded in agreement with J. B. Chabot for the interpretation of *mlk 'mr* as the sacrifice of a lamb, *i.e.*, for the interpretation of *mlk* as " sacrifice " or the like everywhere else, I felt bound to give up this interpretation in Melitensis IV, as well as in Melitensis III, which was still looked on as a twin of Melitensis IV. The reading *mlk 'mr* now adopted by Dussaud for the group of letters in which we are interested in Melitensis IV proves beyond doubt that its first part *mlk* has to be understood as sacrifice. This is also the reason why *mlkb ʻl* in Melitensis III and in other inscriptions must be looked upon in quite a new light, the more so as a recently discovered inscription in Algerian Sousse, the ancient Hadrumetum, and now published by Dussaud, contains the expression *mlkb ʻl* which simply seems to demand the interpretation of " a sacrifice (or something similar) of Ba ʻal." Thus this inscription, with its translation as given by Dussaud, runs:

לאדן לבעל מתנת

To the Lord Ba ʻal, gift.

מתנתא מלך בעל אש

His gift (was a sacrifice) *molk* (in honour of) Ba ʻal which

נדר עזרבעל בן

had vowed ʻAzruba ʻal son of

בעלחנא בן בעלית

Ba ʻalḥanno son of Ba ʻaljat-

ן אש בעשא יתנם

on. That Ba ʻa(l) Sa(mim) may confer on him (good fortune)!

Both Phœnician inscriptions from Malta, Melitensis III and Melitensis IV, being very old, *viz.*, belonging to the sixth or even seventh century B.C., carry us back with the evidenced sacrifice *molk* to the time to which the evidences of the hotly discussed *mōlek* of the Old Testament belong, and it is evident that the supposition of this *mōlek* being conceived as an appellative with the meaning of sacrifice or something similar and not as the name of a god, receives strong support from this fact.

TWO CONNECTED PROBLEMS RELATING TO THE ISRAELITE SETTLEMENT IN TRANSJORDAN

By J. Simons

II.

" From Arnon unto Yabboq "

Among the group of Biblical texts relating to the settlement of Israel in Transjordan there are some which, according to the almost unanimous opinion of interpreters, mention explicitly or indirectly the river Yabboq as the frontier of the territory of Ammon, thereby creating a problem which has so far received no other than a very awkward and unsatisfactory solution.

A comparison of all the relevant texts reveals that in four out of the seven cases we have "Ammonite clauses" which are very similar to one another and also attached in the same loose way to the end of territorial descriptions. Three of these deal with the Amorite kingdom of Sihon (nn. 1, 3, 4) and again three (nn. 1, 2, 3) contain an explicit mention of the river Yabboq, while the fourth one (n.4) is generally interpreted as referring anonymously to the same boundary-line. The four texts are the following :

1. Nm. xxi, 24 : " Israel . . . possessed his (*i.e.*, Sihon's) land from Arnon unto Yabboq, עַד־בְּבֵי עַמּוֹן כִּי עַז גְּבוּל בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן

2. Dt. iii, 16 : " To the Reubenites and to the Gadites I gave ' from Gilead ' (*i.e.*,) unto the river Arnon on the one side and on the other unto the river Yabboq, גְּבוּל בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן "[1].

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[1] For the translation of this verse see P.E.Q., Jan.—Apr. 1947, pp. 27 ff.

3. Josh. xii, 2 : " Sihon . . . who dwelt in Heshbon (and) reigned from Aroer . . . (and Half-Gilead) unto the river Yabboq, גְּבוּל בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן " (for the position of " and Half-Gilead " in this verse, see below, p. n.).

4. Josh. xiii, 10 : " . . . and all the cities of Sihon . . . who dwelt in Heshbon, עַד־גְּבוּל בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן ".

Two more texts seem to mention this boundary but without reference to the kingdom of Sihon and in a notably different wording :

5. Dt. ii, 37 : " But (רַק) you did not approach the land of the Bene Ammon, כָּל־יַד נַחַל יַבֹּק ".

6. Judg. xi, 13 : " Israel . . . took away my (i.*e*., the Ammonite king's) land, when they came up out of Egypt, from Arnon unto the Yabboq and unto the Jordan ".

Finally, one text applies the formula " from Arnon unto Yabboq " to Sihon's kingdom, but without reference to that of the Bene Ammon :

7. Judg. xi, 22 : " They (*i.e.*, the Israelites) took possession of all the Amorite territory, from Arnon unto the Yabboq and from the desert unto the Jordan ".

Now, it cannot be doubted that in the last of these seven texts " Yabboq " means nothing else than *nahr ez-zerqā*, the river which runs from east to west across Transjordan and thus constituted the northern boundary of the Amorite kingdom[1]. The description of this kingdom by two pairs of opposite boundaries offers no alternative. " The desert " is by its very nature no more than a vague indication of the eastern border and the broad formula of Judg. xi, 22 is certainly not to be understood as excluding the existence of a small Ammonite principality between the barren desert and the fertile territory actually taken over by the Israelites from the Amorites " when they came up out of Egypt."

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[1] The introductory formula of v. 22 (וַיִּירְשׁוּ אֵת כָּל־גְּבוּל הָאֱמֹרִי) is omitted by $\mathrm{G}^{\mathrm{Bal}}$, perhaps rightly so, but it makes no difference, if מֵאַרְנוֹן, etc. is to be attached directly to the end of v. 21.

That the Ammonite principality was at the time of Israel's invasion confined to this small eastern region, where was also its historic centre, Rabbath Bene Ammon, and that it did not extend " from Arnon (*seil el mōǧib*) unto Yabboq (*nahr ez-zerqā*) ", is clear from the way the Israelites were able to avoid disturbing Ammon when, after having marched along the eastern border of Moab (Dt. ii, 9 : Judg. xi, 18), they crossed the river Arnon (Nm. xxi, 13 ; Judg. xi, 18) and turned to the left in the direction of the *'arboth mo'ab* in the Jordan Valley. The same actually restricted and easterly location of the Ammonite territory also explains the terms in which the king of Ammon formulates his claim against Jephthah (Judg. xi, 13), while at the same time, however, they point to a formerly much larger extension : because from the time when first the Amorites and afterwards the Israelites occupied the region bordered on the south, north and west by Arnon, Yabboq and Jordan, the Ammonites had maintained themselves on the edge of the desert, this (eastern) side is not mentioned by their king. It follows that in this formula (n.6), too, " Yabboq " can be nothing else than the northern frontier of the country he claims back for his people, *i.e.*, the main east-to-west course of the river.

For the understanding of the problem we are leading up to and of the solution we intend to propose, it is important to realise that the limitation of the Bene Ammon to a small strip of territory on the edge of the desert represents only a second stage in their history as we know it. Indeed, there is more than one argument to prove that this was not, as *e.g.*, Glueck says, " the original Ammonite kingdom "[1], which, on the contrary, comprised at least the greater part of the region between Arnon and Yabboq. This original extension is the very basis of the quarrel between Ammonites and Israelites at the time of Jephthah (Judg. xi), in which the Ammonite contention that Israel had robbed them of the land "from Arnon to the Yabboq and to the Jordan" (v. 13) cannot be entirely arbitrary and baseless. Nor is this the tenor of Jephthah's reply. His refusal to hand over part of the land between the two rivers to the Ammonites is not based on the negation of their older rights but on the fact that Israel had taken over the entire region from Sihon, the king of the Amorites (vv. 19–23). If the extremely obscure remainder of his reply (vv. 24–26) belongs, more or less in its present form, to the original context, its purport is an appeal to the right of prescription : just as the Moabites who lost their territory above Arnon to the Amorites (cp. Nm. xxi 26) are not entitled to claim it back from the Israelites after their undisturbed possession during three centuries, so the king of Ammon, "no better than Balaq the king of Moab", should know that for his part, too, the clock cannot be put back.

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[1] AASOR XVIII-XIX, p. 247.

Josh. xiii, 25 likewise supposes the original control of the Bene Ammon over the greater part of southern Half-Gilead : in spite of the prohibition to occupy Ammonite territory (Dt. ii. 19, 37), this verse allocates to Gad "half the land of the Bene Ammon". This is only understandable if the region between the two rivers Arnon and Yabboq once belonged to the Ammonites, viz. before it passed into the hands of the Amorites, and continued to be called after them[1].

So we believe that on documentary (Biblical) evidence it is possible to distinguish three successive periods in the political history of Middle Transjordan: an Ammonite period, an Amorite period and an Israelite period. In all three periods the territory was a political unity, except for a certain participation of Moab from some date in the first period (the region adjoining the river Arnon—Nm. xxi, 26 and possibly also the *'arboth mo'ab*) and an independent (Ammonite ?) principality of Yazer during the second (hence to be conquered separately by the Israelites after their victory over Sihon : Nm. xxi, 32)[1]. A different view has recently been proposed by R. de Vaux[2]. Whereas Glueck ignores or denies the existence of an early Ammonite kingdom covering the region between Arnon and Yabboq, Père de Vaux wants to do away with a similarly extensive Amorite kingdom, and this in spite of its Biblical description as extending " from Arnon unto Yabboq " (Nm. xxi, 24 ; Judg. xi, 22) or " from Aroer . . . unto the river Yabboq " (Josh. xii, 2). While the last quotation finds no place in de Vaux' discussion, the testimony of Judg. xi, 22 is summarily pushed aside by him as being " *postérieur* ". His real argument comes from Nm. xxi, 24 and its context which, he says, reveals that Sihon's kingdom was in reality limited to the " *équivalent* " of " Heshbon and all her daughters " (v. 25). That it was small and confined to the region south of *w.ḥesbān*, is clear, he says, from the fact that it was entirely defeated and conquered by a single Israelite victory at Jahsa, *i.e.*, *ḫ. libb* (vv. 23–29)[3], while its specific extension is established by the equivalence between the list of conquered Amorite cities which once preceded v. 25, and the formula " Heshbon and her daughters " which in v. 25 summarizes the same list.

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[1] Jer. xlix, 1 also points to a late effect of the Ammonite claim.

Now, while it must be admitted that some sort of a list of cities conquered by Sihon once preceded the formula כָּל־הֶעָרִים הָאֵלֶּה, it is not so sure that this list was confined to "Heshbon and all her daughters". Not less probable, I believe, is the opinion that the list enumerated all the Amorite cities "from Arnon unto Yabboq" according to the formula of v. 24b, which must have introduced the list, the more so because a list of "Heshbon and all her daughters" would not even have reached as far as the river Arnon (cp. Judg. xi, 26 where "the daughters of Aroer" are distinguished from "the daughters of Heshbon"). The special mention of "Heshbon and all her daughters" at the end of v. 25 is adequately explained by the fact that Heshbon was the capital city of the entire Amorite kingdom: "for Heshbon was the city of the king of the Amorites" (v. 26).

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[1] If the explanation, to be given below, of the final clause of Nm. xxi 24—כִּי עַז גְּבוּל בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן—is considered unsatisfactory and preference is given to the reading יַעְזֵר of the lxx, I should like to suggest, in order to give this meaning an intelligible sense, to transfer the clause after v. 32 and to translate : " for Yazer was a territory of the Bene Ammon ". This would mean that up to the time of the Israelite invasion Yazer was an *Ammonite* enclave within the Amorite kingdom. Against this theory stands that it was attacked and occupied by the Israelites, but the prohibition to enter Ammonite territory may perhaps reasonably be understood as referring to the main territory of the Bene Ammon in the East. However, I attach little value to the reading of the lxx in this case, as will be seen below.

[2] *Vivre et Penser*, I 1941, pp, 79 ff.

[3] Cp. Dt. ii, 31 ff.

I am well aware, of course, that de Vaux' explanation of Nm. xxi, 24 and his easy disposal of Josh. xii, 2 and Judg. xi, 22 must be seen in conjunction with the archaeological aspect of the matter, *i.e.*, in the light of his own and Glueck's extensive surface-explorations which are believed to have shown that during the third Bronze Age, notably during the XIIIth century B.C. (de Vaux' date for the battle between Israel and Sihon), there were no urban settlements (and consequently no large Amorite kingdom) in the northern *belqā* (from about Heshbon to the Yabboq) and in the southern part of *ʿaǧlūn* (from the Yabboq to about *el ḥoṣn*). Generally speaking, I still view with a certain amount of scepticism the sweeping conclusions drawn by many scholars from these explorations with regard to a country where not a single ancient site has been fully excavated (a well-known previous condition to the reliability of dating by pottery). It is, to say the least of it, a strange fact that the same explorations have been unable to discover the pottery-remains of Sihon's Late Bronze cities in the southern *belqā*, except in one place (*ǧalul*, e. of *mādabā*). The fact that cities like Heshbon, Medeba and *maʿīn* were inhabited until very late periods, does not fully account for the disappearance of all earlier remains there and, anyhow, this argument does not apply to a number of other places. *Vice versa*: *if* it is to be assumed that all traces of Late Bronze occupation have been obliterated in many cities of the southern *belqā*, including those which were abandoned at an early date, why should not the same factor account for the absence of these remains in the northern *belqā?* I do not wish to say that southern Half-Gilead with its wooded hills and rich pasture-lands was at an early period as well provided with urban agglomerations as the highland below *w.hesbān.* But I consider their total absence during a period of five centuries not yet sufficiently proved. The same is true for the now generally accepted late origin of the Edomite and Amorite kingdoms, which has such an important bearing on the chronological question of the Exodus. But apart from these considerations I fail to see why the fertile region of the northern *belqā*, because uninhabited by a sedentary population (but certainly exploited by nomadic herdsmen), should not be reckoned a part of Sihon's kingdom and its inclusion merely be the result of a posthumous, unhistoric extension of that kingdom unto the " *limite idéal* " of the river Yabboq[1].

After this lengthy but indispensable parenthesis we now return to our seven texts.

The identity of Yabboq and *nahr ez-zerqā* in two instances of the formula " from Arnon into Yabboq " (nn. 6 and 7) and the applicability of this formula to the historical territory of Ammon justify us in saying that very strong arguments indeed would be required in order to restrict the meaning of " Yabboq " in any other instance exclusively to the comparatively insignificant upper course of the same river, *wādy 'ammān*, which, flowing from south (S-E) to north

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[1] De Vaux adds in a note (p. 21, n.5) : " *Il est d'ailleurs possible que Sihon ait exercé un contrôle sur les nomades qui pâturaient au Nord de son territoire* " (*i.e.*, n. of Heshbon, according to Vaux' view). If I am not mistaken, this concession takes the bottom out of his theory which starts from the observation that the Israelites by their one victory at Yahsa (*h.libb* below *mādabā*) conquered the *entire* kingdom of Sihon. If the king of Heshbon controlled the northern as well as the southern *belqā*, one decisive defeat sufficed to establish the Israelites on the Yabboq, more especially if the northern *belqā* was exclusively or mainly inhabited by nomadic tribes.

(N-W) can only have the function of a western (Ammonite) boundary. Such a strong and, indeed, unescapable argument is seen by many in the impossibility of considering the east-to-west river-course as a frontier of Ammon at the time of Sihon and the Israelite invasion, coupled with the fact that several of the texts quoted above nevertheless qualify the Yabboq as such. This argument correctly assumes that the "Ammonite clauses" in nn. 1, 2, 3 do not indicate another (third) boundary but are to be understood as appositions[1]. It is also correct to say that in n.4, which likewise deals with Sihon's kingdom, though without explicitly mentioning the Yabboq, the practically identical "Ammonite clause" is also to be taken as pointing to the same frontier, which, therefore, according to the same scholars, is here again nothing more than *w.ʿammān.*

This reconciliation of two elements, thought to be otherwise irreconcilable, has been adopted by most Biblical commentators and recently also—with a certain emphasis on its simplicity—by the leading Transjordan expert, N. Glueck[2]. For the author of the latest commentary on the Book of Joshua it is likewise an established fact[3]. A remarkable exception is the German scholar M. Noth. While in his *Kommentar* he did not pronounce upon the question, Noth managed to avoid the same "reconciliation" in his later *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Ostjordanlandes*[4] by pointing out that our "Ammonite clauses" are late additions to texts which themselves do not go back beyond the VIth century B.C. The additions (*Zusätze*), therefore, belong to a period during which the territory between Arnon and Yabboq constituted a political unit, viz. the Persian province of Ammon[1]. We can hardly be mistaken if we suggest that this solution, however unattractive, has largely been inspired by a well-founded reluctance to see in " Yabboq " anything else than the east-to-west river-course and therefore a northern frontier.

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[1] N.1 admits another interpretation. See below p. 97.

[2] AASOR XVIII—XIX, pp. 242 ff. See also the same author's monograph "The other Side of the Jordan", 1945, pp. 139 f.

[3] A. Fernandez, *Commentarius* etc., p. 171 ; cp. also his "*Problemas*" etc., pp. 85. 87.

[4] PJB 37, 1941, p. 53 and n.4.

There is, indeed, every reason why we should try to escape from the accepted " reconciliation ". In the first place, there is the undeniable fact that in the formula " from Arnon unto Yabboq " the two rivers *prima facie* stand for two opposite and parallel frontiers, which means that, as "Arnon " is a southern frontier, " Yabboq " must be a northern one. This is so obvious that something more than the embarrassment of modern exegetes is required to deprive the texts of Numbers, Deuteronomy and Joshua of their natural sense, irrespective of their pre- or post-exilic origin, the more so because at any rate, as we have seen, the formula undoubtedly preserves that sense in Judg. xi, 13 and Judg. xi, 22. Add to this that the two parallel rivers constitute together a very workable, though not four-sided, definition of Sihon's kingdom, hardly less so than the *three* rivers of Judg. xi, 13 which suggested to Flavius Josephus the idea of an island (*Ant.* iv, 5, 2). On the contrary, the description of a territory as contained between an east-to-west river in the South (Arnon) and a south-to-north river in the East (*w.'ammān*) is as clumsy as it is inadequate[2].

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[1] *loc. cit.* : " . . . *Sollte sich von hier aus vielleicht die merkwürdige Bezeichnung des Jabboq als* ' *Grenze der Ammoniter* ' *in* 5 *M.*3, 16 ; *Jos.* 12, 2 *und* 4.*M.*21, 24 *als eine Angabe auf Grund unklarer geographischer Vorstellungen sowie das Auftreten des ammonitischen Königs in Ri.* 11,12-28 *als anachronistische Uebertragung politischer Ordnungen der Gegenwart auf die Vergangenheit erklären* ? "

[2] This also applies to the territorial description of Dt. iii, 16, which according to the interpretation proposed in Pt. 1, contains only two, not three, elements.

Another point which might usefully be studied more closely, is the question whether the upper course of the Yabboq was indeed Ammon's precise western frontier after the retreat before the Amorites. It should not be overlooked that the historic city of Rabbath Bene Ammon was situated (in contrast with modern *'ammān*) on the west side of *wady 'ammān*, the main constituent of the Yabboq. The Ammonite city of Aroer (Josh, xiii, 25 ; Judg. xi, 33) was probably still more to the west. See also below, p. 96 n. 1.

So there is ample reason to look for a solution which proceeds from the natural assumption that " Yabboq ", without any specification or addition, is *nahr ez-zerqā*, without forgetting that at the time the texts refer to this east-to-west line was not a frontier of Ammon. Now, the only way to avoid a conflict with one or the other of these facts consists in interpreting the "Ammonite clauses" not as referring to an *actual* Ammonite *frontier* but to the *former* Ammonite *territory* (גְּבוּל) contained between the two parallel rivers Arnon and Yabboq. In this interpretation the "Ammonite clauses" are understood as appositions, not to " Yabboq " but to the entire preceding territorial description : Sihon's kingdom extended " from Arnon unto Yabboq, *i.e.*, the land of the Bene Ammon ". In other words : גְּבוּל בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן is neither the frontier of the Ammonites at any period, nor the territory of the Ammonites at the time of Moses and Sihon, but their former territory "from Arnon unto Yabboq" which was still designated as " the land of the Bene Ammon " and was as such claimed back from Jephthah by the king of Ammon. This meaning fits in with the loose syntactical position of these, in their context, perfectly superfluous "Ammonite clauses," and seems to afford an adequate explanation, at least in the case of Dt. iii, 16 and the closely related text of Josh. xii, 2 : the region, once conquered by the Amorites and later taken over by the Israelites, is correctly qualified as " the territory (גְּבוּל) of the Bene Ammon "[1].

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[1] For N. Glueck Josh. xii, 2 is the most decisive argument in favour of his theory (it " at once clarifies and complicates our problem " : AASOR, XVIII–XIX, p. 246). It is difficult, however, to agree with Glueck's easy treatment and translation of this verse, according to which Sihon " ruled from Aroer . . . over the (south) half of Gilead as far as the Nahal Yabboq, the boundary of the Beni 'Ammôn ". No doubt, in this translation the final clause, גְּבוּל בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן, must refer to " the Naḥal Yabboq ", but its smooth formula has been obtained only by a clever suppression (partly by means of an ambiguous use of the preposition " over " in the idiomatic sense of *regnare de* and the

The case of Nm. xxi requires some further consideration, because the "Ammonite clause" here takes the form "עַד־בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן", followed by a (much disputed) second clause "כִּי עַז גְּבוּל בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן". In this case two possibilities are open, neither of which leads to a restricted meaning of "Yabboq". First, "עַד־בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן" could perhaps be understood, not as an apposition, but as referring to a third (eastern) boundary: Israel took possession of Sihon's land which extended "from Arnon unto Yabboq (and in another direction) unto the Bene Ammon"[1]. However, if this is the meaning of the text, it is grammatically hardly correct (one would at least expect "וְעַד־ב״ע") and certainly unnecessarily obscure. Moreover, the *nomen gentilicum* בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן is never used (Dt. ii, 19 is a possible exception) as a territorial denomination without a preceding אֶרֶץ or גְּבוּל. This last remark suggests another interpretation of the clause by means of a simple textual correction, viz. the change of עַד to אֶרֶץ so that Nm. xxi, 24 again qualifies the region "from Arnon

material sense of *per* or *trans*) of the fact that the massoretic text, as it stands, contains three, not one or two, elements. Indeed, as Half-Gilead does not start "from Aroer", the only possible translation of the massoretic formula is (*a*) "from Aroer" (*b*) "and Half-Gilead" (*c*) "and unto the river Yabboq" (outside the formula מִן . . . וְעַד or וְעַד . . . וְעַד, וְעַד always means "and unto"; significantly the lxx has helped itself by reading עַד). Now, while it is sometimes possible to understand "from Aroer" in a substantival sense, thus putting it on the same level as "Half-Gilead" (see the first part of this essay), it would in this particular case leave "and unto the river Yabboq" as a distinct, third element (region); but this makes no sense after "Half-Gilead" which itself extends "unto the river Yabboq". Nor is it possible, syntactically, to connect מֵעֲ ֹר directly with וְעַד יַבֹּק הַנַּחַל and to read "from Aroer unto Yabboq", so long as the two termini of this formula are separated from one another by "Half-Gilead". The only way out, I believe, is to cut out the anyhow superfluous mention of Half-Gilead, the formula being reduced to "from Aroer which is on the Arnon . . . unto the river Yabboq" *i.e.*, from *seil el mōǧib* in the South to *nahr ez-zerqā* in the North.

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[1] So *e.g.*, Burney, Judges, p. 314, following Gray, ICC i.h.l.

unto Yabboq" as "the land of the Bene Ammon," the only difference between this case and that of Dt. iii, 16 and Josh. xii, 2 consisting in the substitution of אֶרֶץ for גְּבוּל. The "Ammonite clause" is then once more an apposition without, however, referring to "Yabboq" and changing the obvious meaning of the name. I consider this second alternative the more probable one, although the former cannot be ruled out, especially in view of the analogous case of Josh. xiii, 10 (see below).

It may be added that in either interpretation of the "Ammonite clause" of Nm. xxi, 24 the mysterious final clause, too, seems to acquire some sense: ". . . the land of the Bene Ammon: mighty, indeed (כִּי), was the land of the Bene Ammon"[1].

As for Josh. xiii 10 which makes no explicit mention of the river Yabboq and in which the "Ammonite clause" is not in the nature of an apposition, it is certainly theoretically possible to understand the latter as referring to Sihon's territory as extending, in the east, "unto the frontier of the Bene Ammon", but it is undoubtedly more reasonable to take it in the same historical sense as in the other texts, although referring in this case to the northern *frontier* of the former Ammonite territory. However, it will be realized that the point is really irrelevant for the question under review[1].

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[1] This explanation of the second clause commends itself as necessitating no textual alteration and as being at least intelligible, if not very much to the point. But actually I have the impression that the double clause is, after all, merely the result of one or two clerical errors and perhaps subsequent "corrections" with the aim of restoring a readable text. The whole original formula may have conformed to the stereotyped pattern: "from Arnon unto Yabboq, גְּבוּל בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן"

The usually accepted emendation of the second clause according to the lxx (יַעְזֵר instead of עַ really makes no sense. How can the principality of Yazer (probably the district around *ḫ. ǧazzir*; cp. Josh. xiii, 25 and see *Vivre et Penser*, I, 1941, pp. 25 ff.) constitute a boundary of Ammon and what may be the purpose of mentioning a common boundary of Yazer and Ammon in this context? See, however, for a further suggestion based on the reading יַעְזֵר, above: p. 91 n. 1.

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[1] If we consider Josh. xiii, 10 not by itself alone but in its context, it appears to be difficult to say anything definite about its real meaning, because the passage (vv. 8–12), as it stands, is evidently the result of a redactional operation. It can be said, however, that an analysis of this passage does not tend to confirm the interpretation of גְּבוּל בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן as referring to the eastern frontier of the Bene Ammon.

Vv. 8–12 contain two originally distinct but here purposely interwoven descriptions of the Israelite conquests in Transjordan (for this view see also Noth. *Kommentar*), viz. (*a*) vv. 9 and 11 which enumerate various regions: geographical description, and (*b*) vv. 10 and 12 which enumerate various kingdoms: political description. The latter naturally consists of the kingdoms of Sihon and Og, which the plural suffixes in v. 12*b* still betray not to have been originally separated from one another by v. 11. The idea of the redactor (not necessarily distinguished from the original author or composer of the passage) has been to join the political formulae by way of appositions to the corresponding geographical formulae (in v. 10 we may read, with the lxx a.o., כָּל instead of וְכָל; in v. 12 the massoretic text, too, has only כָּל). In view of this artificial origin of the passage we can hardly expect a complete coincidence of the geographical and political formulae, but some measure of parallelism there must be, since this was the very reason why the political description was broken into two parts separately inserted after the geographical formulae. Such a parallelism actually exists between v. 11 and v. 12, especially if we reduce v. 11 to a more sober form (Noth retains only " Gilead and the whole of Bashan unto Salcha " ; Gilead is here the northern half, between *yarmūk* and *nahr ez-zerqā* ; cp. v. 31). The correspondence between v. 9 and v. 10, however, is far less evident, probably because v. 9 has been shortened or truncated. The contents of this verse now cover at the utmost the old Moabite territory north of Arnon, perhaps even not higher than Medeba (the uncertainty is a result of the fact that in the present condition of the texts—Josh. xiii, 10. 15 ff.—the northern limit of the Mishor remains doubtful), after which v. 10 gives without any specification or restriction the much wider formula : "all the cities of Sihon . . . who ruled in Heshbon ". We may assume that v. 9 originally offered a more comprehensive formula (perhaps in the form of a city-list of the Mishor and of (southern) Half-Gilead) and that the disappearance (purposely shortening ?) of a part of it by a hasty scribe has been remedied by the reading וְכָל in v. 10 so that v. 9 and v. 10 could be taken cumulatively and their disproportion was no longer of any consequence.

An entirely different case, although a very illuminating one for the problem we have been studying, is that of our last remaining text (Dt. ii, 37), which again mentions the river Yabboq, together with " the land of the Bene Ammon ". Here the clause " כָּל־יַד נַחַל יַבֹּק וְעָרֵי הָהָר " is unequivocally in apposition to " the land of the Bene Ammon ", which, however, is not presented as identical with the territory conquered by Sihon and later by the Israelites, but expressly distinguished from and opposed to (רק) the Amorite territorial description of v. 36. Consequently, after v. 36 which attributes the entire region " from Aroer . . . unto Gilead " (in the sense of the northern half, above the Yabboq) to Sihon, v. 37 must of necessity refer to the small territory in the East which alone constituted the Ammonite principality since the Amorite expansion between Arnon and Yabboq. In accordance with this fact, v. 37 makes no mention of an Ammonite territory extending " unto Yabboq " but of a territory which besides a certain part of the mountain-country (עָרֵי הָהָר), also and perhaps mainly comprised " כָּל־יַד נַחַל יַבֹּק ". This latter formula is, in a sense, a *hapax legomenon*, since it is the only case in which יַד + the name of a river has a perfectly substantival meaning[1]. Unless this justifies, as it certainly does, understanding יַד נַחַל יַבֹּק as referring exclusively to the region lying aside (יַד !) around the upper Yabboq (*w.ʿammān*), v. 37 contradicts v. 36 so flatly and openly that even a distracted glossator cannot be charged with their juxtaposition. Indeed, if in v. 36 the conquests of the Israelites extend " as far as Gilead " *i.e.*, as far as the Yabboq (*nahr ez-zerqā*), the region which they according to v. 37 purposely refrained from occupying,

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[1] אֶל־יַד, עַל־יְדֵי, עַל־יַד, etc., are practically equivalent to ordinary prepositions : אֶל, עַל, etc.

כָּל־יַד נַחַל יַבֹּק, cannot possible be the valley of the Yabboq *tout ccurt* (*nahr ez-zerqā*) and its adjoining territory[1].

So we must conclude that the Old Testament has its own formula for referring to the valley of the Upper Yabboq and its adjoining territory : יַד נַחַל יַבֹּק, and this confirms our opinion that " Yabboq " itself nowhere means anything else than its main east-to-west course.[2]

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[1] Consequently, Smend's suggestion (ZAW 22, 1902, p. 140) to connect כָּל־יַד נַחַל יַבֹּק with the text of Josephus alluded to above (p. 95) so as to understand the formula as some sort of proper name for the territory immediately south of *nahr ez-zerqā* is out of the question.

[2] For the territory indicated in Dt. ii, 37 by עָרֵי הָהָר, see N. Glueck, AASOR XVIII–XIX, p. 247. Since, however, contrary to Glueck's opinion we believe that " Yabboq " *tout court* neither here nor anywhere else stands for " the boundary of the Beni 'Ammon ", his conjecture that the reduced Ammonite principality extended somewhat to the west of *w.'ammān* (cp. above, p. 89 n. 1), may confidently be endorsed.

MORIAH-ARIEL

By Dr. Samuel Krauss

II

5. The Sepulchres of the Davidic Dynasty

When David renamed Zion, his new residence, City of David, he was not very successful. The people continued to call this spot by its old name "Zion". Apart from what is recorded as an act of Solomon, that he built Millo and repaired the breach of the city of David, his father (I K. xi, 27), which amounts to practically the same time, this name occurs but twice in the whole Bible: Is. xxii, 9, and in Neh. iii, 16, this latter passage giving the indication of the only thing for which this "city" was known: it was the burial ground of the House of David[1]. The author of the Book of Kings and the Chronicler never fail to report that such and such a king of Judah has been buried in the "City of David"; mention being made of this city only in this relation. It was deemed a terrible defilement for a king not to be buried in this way; the greatest curse is that of Jeremiah (xxii, 19) against Jehoiakim, " He shall be buried with the burial of an ass, drawn and cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem ".

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[1] It has always been a practice for people of good standing to be buried in their own house and ground. These are the *Familiengräber* of the Germans. As to the Israelites, see the underlying thought in Benzinger, *Arch.*, p. 133. Cp. Gen. xxiii, 4, I S. xxv, 1, I K. ii, 34. The records are numerous; Gideon, Jg. viii, 32; Barzillai, II S. xix, 38; the longing of Nehemia (2, 3); on the other side, the obscure burial ground of ordinary people, II K. xxiii, 6. We are taught by the Mishnah (Sanhedrin VI, 5) that the culprit was not buried "in the graves of his ancestors", but, *ex officio*, two cemeteries were held ready, the one for those who were sentenced to be slain or strangled, the other for those sentenced to be stoned or burnt—even in these cases a selection was made! Jesus was laid in the newly prepared tomb of Joseph from Arimathea (Matt. xxvii, 60 and parallels). To lay a stranger in such a family grave was strongly prohibited.

From David to Ahaz thirteen, according to others fourteen, kings[1] are reported to have been buried in the City of David ; they are : David, Solomon, Rehoboam, Abijam, Asa, Jehoshaphat, Joram, Ahaziah (wounded, he died in Megiddo, and it is related at some length, II K. ix, 28, " And his servants carried him in a chariot to Jerusalem, and buried him in his sepulchre with his fathers in the city of David "), Joash, Amaziah (both killed, their bodies were brought to Jerusalem ; about Amaziah it is said, II K. xiv, 20, " and he was buried in Jerusalem with his fathers in the city of David ", which makes it clear that Jerusalem and the City of David are not the same)[2] ; Azariah (=Uzziah), according to the report in II K. xv, 7, was buried with his fathers, but in II Chr. xxvi, 23 it is said " they buried him with his fathers in the field of burial which belonged to the kings ; for they said : He is a leper ". This makes a distinction between a cave or vault as the usual burial place, and a field, which occasionally served as a burial place. Then follow Jotham and Ahaz. An exceptional honour was done to the priest Jehoiada, who too was buried in the city of David " among the kings " (II Chr. xxiv, 16.)

This uniform chain of reports comes suddenly to an end with Hezekiah, that pious king so beloved by the authors of our sources. This is very astonishing.

Samuel Klein, writing the article " Jerusalem " in Enc. Judaica, says, with some hesitation, that there was no available space in the burial cave—a very weak argument, because it was surely within the power of a king to make the cave more spacious. Cp. the deeds mentioned in Jer. xxii, 13 *s*., and the realm was then in its decline ! Of the " righteous " king Asa it is said (II Chr. xvi, 14) " And they buried him in his own sepulchres[1] which he had hewn out[2] for himself in the city of David ", a report which clearly indicates that an enlargement took place ; it was possible and was made. With Hezekiah even the simple fact of his being buried is missing ! The solution of this riddle lies in the fact that in the text of II K. xx, 21 a big scribal error occurred ; let it be corrected and supplemented by the corresponding text of II Chr. xxxii, 33 in this way[3] : " And Hezekiah slept with his fathers [and they buried him in the ascent[4] of the sepulchres of the sons of David ; and all Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem did him honour at his death[5]], and Manasseh his son reigned in his stead ". One aspect of the whole matter should be noticed, that the texts are silent about the funerals of the wives and the children of the kings ; apparently it was not considered worth while by the authors, or no records were available on this matter.

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[1] The reason for this difference will be made clear by the discussion which follows.

[2] II Chr. xxv, 28 is very strange ; " and they buried him with his fathers in the city of Judah " ; city of Judah *kat' exochen*=Jerusalem I think, יהודה is only a scribal error for דויד (the Chronicler writes דויד always plene), the letters of these two words being fairly similar.

The burial of Manasseh, an ill-fated king, is recorded in II K. xxi, 18, in this way : " Manasseh . . . was buried in the garden of his own house, in the garden of Uzza[6] ", and at the very least also in II Chr. xxxiii, 20 the word בגן must be understood : " and they buried him [in the garden] of his own house ", and the fact that it was the garden of Uzza has been omitted. Also the next king, Amon, is reported to have been buried "in his sepulchre" in the garden of Uzza (II K. xxi, 26; nothing in Chr.), and it can be surmised that these two kings, father and son, provided for themselves a different mode of burial; for them a grave was digged[1] in a garden called the garden of Uzza. Now, a king's garden is mentioned in Neh. iii, 15, and we learn exactly where it was situated: "And the fountain gate repaired Shallun, . . . he built it, . . . and the wall of the pool of Shelah[2] by the king's garden, even unto the stairs[3] that go down from the city of David". There is no doubt that this garden as a burial ground was situated close to the territory of the royal tombs; immediately after that, in the next verse (Neh. ib.), a place is named "over against the sepulchres of David and unto the pool that was [artificially] made, and unto the house of the mighty men" (*gibbōrim*—olim David's heroes). The garden of Uzza may be a part of this royal garden or an annexe to it. I even venture to suggest that this garden has been "acquired" illegally by the two "wicked" kings Manasseh and Amon, like the story of Ahab "going down" into the vineyard of Naboth (I K. xxi, 16). The name "Uzza" reminds us of the tragic story in II S. vi, 3-8; this contemporary of David certainly was a mighty man, one of the princes, possessed of a garden in the city of David like the king himself, and was buried, after the custom of the grandees, in his own garden[4]. "Till this very day" (II S. vi, 8) the locality was known as *Perez Uzza*. It was a burial ground already for the old noble family;

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[1] The plural indicates more than a single grave ; were the sepulchres meant for his successors too, or for wives and children ? See below.

[2] For verb כרה see with Jacob, Genesis l, 5.

[3](Luc. version has these words : Noted by C. F. Burney, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Book of Kings*, Oxford (1903), p. 352, but it may be due to the desire for harmonizing).

[4] מעלה is again a new feature in this locality, as is " field " dealt with above. Cp. Neh. iii, 15, 16.

[5] It can be assumed that this amplification is due to the Chronicler himself ; cp. his report on Asa.

[6] By Burney, *l.c.* p. 355, some conjectures have been made about this name, but it is not my concern to reproduce them.

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[1] In the sense of verb כרה dealt with above.

[2] One is too inclined to read Shiloah instead of Shelah, but in view of the "made" pool in the next verse precaution is needed. I would object to the rendering "*by* the king's garden"; לגן המלך rather means the pool Shelah [made] *for* the king's garden. Besides, concerning this garden see A. Büchler in *Kaufmann Gedenkbuch*, p. 24; I. Low, *Flora der Juden*, IV, 267.

[3] The expression מעלה has already been met with above.

[4] I had long regarded this as my own idea, but it had been already suggested by S. Mandelkern, in his Concordance, s.v. עזא.

through Manasseh and Amon it became an annexe to the royal sepulchres.

The next item is that of Josiah. Much praised in our records, this king is a subject of special concern in the Book of Chronicles, where his burial is related at some length (II, xxxv, 24 s.). Also according to II K. xxiii, 30, he was buried in his " sepulchre ", which can mean the sepulchre assigned to him, presumably in the royal sepulchres, and this is assumed expressly in Chr., but it can mean also a sepulchre prepared only for him or by him, as has been found in other cases. Hence a burial in the garden of Uzza is not excluded. He is the last Judaean king whose burial is recorded. His successor, Jehoahaz, who reigned only three months, was brought as a prisoner to Egypt, where he probably died, and the mode of his burial is unrecorded. Jehoiakim—this is the king of whom Jeremiah prophesied that an ass's burial would be his fate[1]—and the last two kings, Jehoiachin and Zedekiah, were brought to Babylon, and nothing is known about their death or burial.

At this point we would seem to have arrived at the end of our investigation into this matter, but we have still to deal with an important and very amazing statement of the prophet Ezekiel in which the " carcases " of the kings are presumed to be set forth improperly. He says (xliii, 7-9) : " Son of Man, [the honour of][2] of the place of My throne, and the place of the soles of My feet [I require] . . . and the house of Israel shall no more defile My holy name, neither they, nor their kings, by their harlotry, and by the carcases of their kings in their death, in their setting of their threshold by My threshold, and their door-post beside My door-post, and there was but the wall between Me and them . . . Now let them put away their harlotry and the carcases of their kings, far from Me" . . . The plain meaning of these words implies that carcases of Judaean kings were laid in the vicinity of the Jerusalem Sanctuary, an abomination which aroused the fierce anger of the prophet. If so, a certain rite in Christendom would have its antecedent in this Israelitic mode of burial[1]. No utterance on this matter is to be heard in the ample storehouses of Jewish tradition in Talmud and Midrash. Rashi *ad locum*, and with him other Jewish commentators, try to solve the puzzle caused by Ezekiel's statement. Rashi says ; "These kings had their houses close to God's house, as we find with Solomon and Athaliah, and sometimes they were buried in the garden of their houses, as is plainly said, they gave their threshold to My threshold." Nothing new is added to our knowledge by Rashi's words. But he influenced Christian scholars ; so in the commentary on the Holy Bible, by various writers, edited by J. R. Dummelow, London, 1926, p. 521, it is said : "the royal sepulchres were in the vicinity of Solomon's Temple." More explicit, and more in accordance with truth, is G. A. Cooke (*Internat. Critical Comm. on the Book of Ez.*, Edinb., 1936, p. 464), who says : "Here it is implied that the kings were buried within the temple precincts, no doubt as being holy ground and near to their palace." But the character of the ground as holy should have prevented them doing so, in the spirit of the law, Numb. xix, 16, and compare the reformation of king Josiah !

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[1] But see LXX in II K. xxiv, 6, who added the usual phrase : " and he was buried with his fathers in the Garden of Uzza ".

[2] I find myself compelled to accept in these verses the following emendations : את etc. presumes a complement, read את [כבוד] מקום כסאי ..לעולם [אני אדרש]. For *bamōtham* (in their high places) read *b'mōtham* when they die.

Nevertheless, I think, Ezekiel's tale is somehow true. A curious report in the Talmud (*y. Pesahim* IX, 1, folio 36 (c reveals that when the restoration work of king Hezekiah took place, "the skull[2] of the Jebusite Ornan was found beneath the altar" ; how they recognised that this was the very skull of Ornan, I cannot say, unless there was a firm tradition that the old Jebusite had been buried on this spot. For in itself there is nothing strange in its being assumed that Ornan was buried in the threshing floor which was his, as this does correspond to the ancient custom, as has been pointed out above. Another Aggadah (*Aggadath Shir ha-Shirim* 3, 4) tells us that this happened when the Israelites "went up" to enlarge the altar[1], *i.e.*, when they went up from Babylon, which coincides with the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, when such enlargement was actually effected (*Mishnah Middōth* III, 1, cp. *b. Zebhaḥim* 61 b). Mount Moriah served, therefore, as a burial ground from hoary days of old—as did almost every inch of Palestine soil, evidenced by discoveries—and no wonder, when some of the kings continued to choose it as their burial ground. This throws light on certain strange assertions of the early Rabbis ; in a chain of fantastic ideas they say[2] : "Whoever is buried in Erez Jisrael—as if he were buried beneath the altar ; whoever is buried beneath the altar—as if he were buried beneath the throne of Glory itself" ; in what way did they conceive such ideas, when unsupported by any reality ? But these men knew the nature of their land and knew that it did happen and could happen ! These Rabbis knew even more ; they say[3] : "There existed cavities (or underground places) under the Temple, forming no sacred area." The statement of Ezekiel provides the most simple explanation of that ; some Judaean kings were literally buried beneath the threshold of the Temple, but not on sacred soil. That is, that their graves have had indeed an underground connection with the Temple area, as did their palaces and gardens too.

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[1] See *A Catholic Dict.*, 7th ed., by Addis and Arnold, London (1905), *s.v. crypt* : After the conversion of Constantine, churches were often built over the ancient crypts ; but more generally crypts were excavated beneath churches. See also the present writer's article *Katakomben* in Enc. Jud.

[2] Cp. Golgotha of the N.T. (Matthew xxvii, 33 ; Strack–Billerbeck, *Comm. N.J.* I, 1037), also גלגלת in the saying of Hillel in Mishnah Aboth II, 6.

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[1] On this topic see my article in R.E.J. (1921), p. 48 : *L'aggrandisement de la ville*, where the enlargement of the Temple court too is treated.

[2] *Tosephta 'Abodah Zarah* IV, 3. enlarged in *'Abōth* di Rabbi Nathan Version I ch. 25, *Midrash Tannaim*, ed. Hoffmann, p. 58.

[3] *Tosephta Kelim baba qamma* I, II, *Baraitha b. Pesaḥim* 86 a, *Tamid* 27b. See with Jastrow, p. 761. Cp. the outflow in the Cedron valley mentioned in Mishnah Joma V.6 ; Strack-Billerbeck *l.c. ad* John xviii, 1, with rich parallels, *inter cetera* also b. Aboda Zarah 44a.

It results from the passages in Nehemiah quoted above that at the beginning of the second Jewish commonwealth, in spite of the intervening Babylonian exile, it was well known where in the city of David the king's garden and the tombs were situated. Also the plundering of these tombs, executed by the Hasmonean king John Hyrkanus and by Herod (Josephus, *Ant*, VI, 15, 3 ; XVI, 7, 1), could only have been possible if the place was accurately known. The apostle Peter, addressing the people, says (Acts, ii, 29) : " Let me freely speak unto you of the patriarch David, that he is both dead and buried, and his sepulchre is with us unto this day ". Also the contemporary Rabbinic authorities, so anxious to hold Jerusalem free from every impurity, confess that nevertheless some tombs " remained " in Jerusalem, *i.e.*, the tombs of the House of David, and the tomb of the prophetess Huldah, as these were there " since the days of the first prophets "[1], the equivalent of saying, it is a *fait accompli*, we cannot help it. It is worth while to listen to a Halachic debate on this matter : " All tombs are to be evacuated, except that of the king and that of the prophet [2]; Rabbi Akiba said : these too are to be evacuated ; the others said to him : " Yet the tombs of the House of David and the tomb of the prophetess Huldah existed in Jerusalem, and nobody ever touched them ! " He said to them : " Is this a testimony ? They have had a cavity by which the impurity was led out into the valley of Cedron "[3]. Another text[4] says further : " Are the tombs of the children of David to be evacuated ? Also the tombs of the children of Huldah did exist in Jerusalem, etc., there was a cavity, and from that the impurity escaped, penetrating into the valley of Cedron", And again in this form : " When they evacuated the tombs. why did they not evacuate these ? A cavity was there " etc.[1] From the few words of this text, which, however, does not belong to the ordinary Talmud, it has been argued that once upon a time the Rabbis proceeded to make a great cleaning up in Jerusalem in matter of graves,[2] which, however, could not be done thoroughly, since they were prevented by the nature of the soil of Jerusalem itself, by her long history, by much enemy's penetration, by the rites of so many foreign people living there, and by the confession of the Rabbis themselves that some of the graves were tolerated[3], apart from the actual discovery of bones, such as that of the skull of the Jebusite Ornan, and what is found in almost every digging.

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[1] " First prophets " means those who lived in the period ending with the fall of Jerusalem, year 586, in opposition to those who lived during and after the Babylonian exile. " First Prophets " is also the name of the second part of the Hebrew Bible, followed by " Last Prophets ". Text : *T. Negaim* VI, 2 ; *'Aboth R.N.* 35 (39).

[2] Both in the singular. By " prophet " possibly the tomb of Isaiah is meant ; this was near the royal tombs. Epiphanius (4th century A.D.) refers to it (see the Preface of my Comm. in Hebrew on Isaiah), and it is shown to visitors up till now, and was shown to me too, when I was first in Jerusalem, in 1905.

[3] *T. Baba Bathra* I, II ; *Semaḥoth* ch. 14.

[4] *Yer. Talm. Nazir* IX, 3, folio 57 d.

The anomaly of our having to account for old graves in the sacred area of ancient Jerusalem has not escaped the attention of modern scholars. Raymond Weill, the fortunate explorer of the city of David,[4] dealing with the presence of these royal graves on sacred ground, writes . . . " et l'on se trouvait alors en présence de cette anomalie, extrêmement exceptionelle en pays israélite, d'une cimetière à l'intérieur des murs, admise et conservée malgré *l'impureté* qui resultait, pour la ville, d'une situation semblable " (p. 36). And yet he did not notice the presence of these graves in the very precinct of the Sanctuary itself. The early Rabbis acquiesced in this matter, because it was regarded as tacitly tolerated by the old prophets, but they too, the early Rabbis, omitted to refer to Ezekiel, who indeed uses very different language. But in the repeatedly made assertion that these graves have underground communications with the valley of Cedron, these early Rabbis show themselves alive to the problem, and we might learn from them.

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[1] 'Aboth di R. Nathan, Version f., ch. 35.

[2] See the very elaborate study of A. Büchler in *Revue des Études Juives*, LXII, 210 *s.*, and the chapter " The Privileges of Jerusalem " in my *Qadmonijjoth ha-Talmud*, I, 108 *ss.*

[3] According to the Yerushalmi text cited above we have to take into account not only the tomb of the prophetess Huldah, but also those of her children, and this means already a plurality of tombs. Besides, the grave of Huldah is now shown in the Arab quarters of the Mount of Olives.

[4] Previously he wrote (*ib.*), " Hezekiah, no doubt, was not buried in the necropolis of David ", adding II K. xx, 21, not being aware of II Chr. xxxii, 33, as treated by me above.

In a chapter on "Les Tombes Royales de la cité", R. Weill says[1] : "Au-dessous de la vieille courtine J 1" (Weill's signs on his map)," dans le Cedron qui s'élargit et se creuse, l'eau trouve devant elle des vastes pentes où l'irrigation entretient un verger magnifique : *les Jardins du Roi* fleurissent toujours, du haut en bas de ce plane de vallée". This remark leads us back to our starting point in this study : Zion was not so desert and barren as many scholars like to assume. The skull of Ornan, found on Moriah, is one point more which might induce us to revise all our knowledge on the topography of Zion and Jerusalem. A most interesting fact is also the discovery, made by E. Sukenik, the archaeologist of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, of "the bones" of king Uzziah, that is, an inscription on a tablet to the effect that these bones have been transferred to this spot, the top of the Mount of Olives (see the plate in article "Jerusalem" in Enc. Jud.), a discovery which opens up to us new prospects.

In the spring of the year 1934 I stood, accompanied by a renowned Jerusalem archaeologist, before the royal tombs laid bare by R. Weill's excavations, and was much impressed by their appearance. In a lecture to the Hebrew University I set forth the then state of our knowledge on this subject ; now, after ten years of incessant study, I am setting down my present views on this subject.

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[1] *Le point sud de la Cité de David et les fouilles de* 1923-1924, *Revue des Études Juives*, LXXXI (1926), p. 110.

ARCHITECTURAL OBSERVATIONS ON SOME ROCK-CUT TOMBS

By N. Avigad

The rock-cut façades of the Jewish necropolis of Jerusalem are our main source of information as regards ancient architectural forms and ornamentation in Palestine, especially of the Græco-Roman period. This fact increases the importance of accurate recording of these monuments. Actually, almost all of them have already been explored and recorded by numerous scholars. However, an additional clearing and some observations of details made on the spot, enable us sometimes to obtain a more complete and also a more correct picture of the monument in question. This paper deals with three such monuments, revisited and re-examined recently.

I. The Monolith at Silwan

The so-called *Tomb of Pharaoh's daughter* situated on a high rock scarp at the northern end of the Silwan village near Jerusalem, and overlooking the Kedron valley alongside the Ophel hill, has always attracted the eyes of visitors and explorers by its Egyptian appearance. Being a monolith of 5·00 × 5·80 metres and 4·00 metres of height on the front side, it is cut out from the solid rock on three of its sides and still adheres to the rock at the back. The façade with its slightly sloping sides, crowned by a torus and a large cavetto, reminds us of a small Egyptian shrine or sanctuary.[1]

From the architectural point of view, the most interesting feature of this monument is its pure Egyptian form, with no

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[1] For a detailed description and plan see : Perrot-Chipiez, *History of art in Sardinia, Judæa, etc.*, Vol. I, pp. 275–283.

Hellenistic elements combined with it, as, *e.g.*, in the so-called *Tomb of Zacharias* not far away. Among the tombs of Jerusalem, it is the only structure of its kind. Looking for a comparison with other similar monuments, a parallel is usually drawn between this Jerusalemite monolith and the representations of ancient Egyptian tombs on bas-reliefs at Thebes.[1] This comparison is really striking, except for the pyramidal roof which crowns the Theban tombs, whereas our monument has always been represented as flat-roofed, according to its present condition (Fig. 1(*a*)). It has, however, been once suggested that the monolith might have had originally a pyramid on its top, which has since disappeared[2]. Galling,

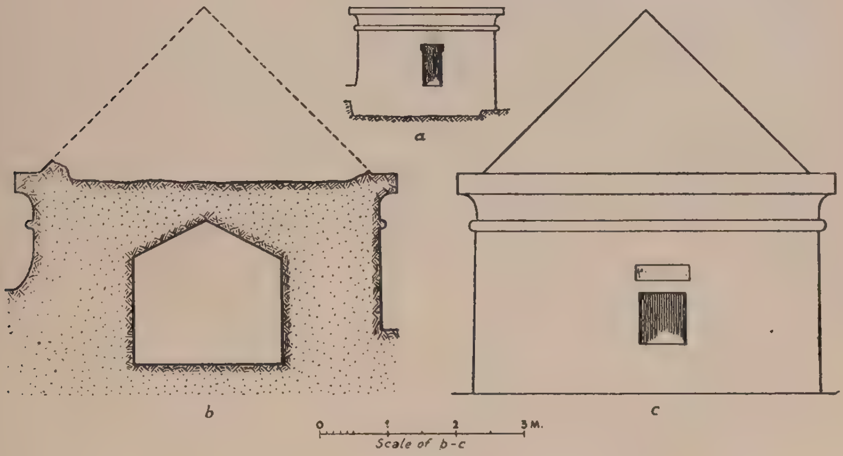

FIG. 1. THE MONOLITH TOMB AT SILWAN

(*a*) PRESENT STATE

(*b*) CROSS-SECTION SHOWING EXISTING REMNANTS OF PYRAMID

(*c*) RECONSTRUCTION

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[1] Perrot-Chipiez, *History of ancient Egyptian art*, Vol. I, Figs. 188, 189 and 193.

[2] Puchstein, "Die nabatäischen Grabfassaden," *Archæol. Anzeiger*, 1910, p. 45.

in his description of the necropolis of Jerusalem seems to be more definite on this point[1], but no concrete evidence, such as existing remnants of such a pyramid has ever been reported. Recently the present writer examined the tomb on this particular point. A number of small soundings made in the layer of earth which covers the roof of the tomb, revealed the following facts :

On three sides of the roof, the front side excluded, traces of a rising pyramid are clearly visible. These remnants project from the rock to the height of about 4–15 cm. and show an inclination of 45°. The incline of this pyramid starts 36–40 cm. from the edges of the cornice. The base of the pyramid is thus 4.82 x 5.30 metres and its restored height about 2.40 m. It seems as if only the beginning of the pyramid was cut from the rock, whereas its bulk was built of masonry resting in a shallow square depression sunk for this purpose into the roof of the tomb. (see section Fig. 1(*b*)). This practice of finishing a rock-hewn monument with a masonry-built structure on its top, occurs later on a more elaborate monument—the so-called *Tomb of Absalom*. The pyramid, as can be seen in the reconstructed drawing illustrated in Fig. 1 (*c*), adds much to the architectural completeness of our monument and makes it very similar indeed to its Theban prototypes.

Such a structure is most likely to have been executed at a time when Egyptian influence predominated in Palestine, *i.e.*, before the Exile, and not as suggested by some scholars, at the Persian period[2], or even later[3]. An early dating is also confirmed by Clermont-Ganneau's discovery of the remnant of an inscription in ancient Hebrew characters above the entrance door[4]. Because of its most fragmentary state, this epigraphic evidence should not be dealt with by itself, as Galling did, but in the light of three more Hebrew inscriptions found above tomb entrances nearby[1]. Their letters are all of the archaic type dating to the time of the Kings.

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[1] Galling, " Die Nekropole von Jerusalem," *Palæstina-Jahrbuch*, 1936, p. 91.

[2] *ibidem.*

[3] Puchstein, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

[4] Clermont-Ganneau, *Archæological Researches in Palestine*, Vol. I, pp. 313 ff. ; Perrot-Chipiez, *History of art in Sardinia, Judæa, etc.*, Vol. I, p. 278.

We may therefore assume with certainty that the monolith is the outstanding structure among the many tombs cut into the cliffs in its close vicinity, which constitute together the necropolis of pre-exilic Jerusalem.

II. MUGHARET UMM EL-'AMAD

The present state of this rock-cut tomb, which is situated on the periphery of the northern necropolis of Jerusalem, about 900 m. south of Sha'fat village, has been described in detail by R. A. S. Macalister in PEF QSt, 1904, pp. 246 ff., under the heading " Mugharet Umm el- 'Anab "[2]. There, a reconstruction of its façade is also proposed. The subject of this paper is to discuss anew the architecture of this elaborate tomb in the light of the results of a small clearance and that of a new survey made of this monument. A new reconstruction of the façade will be proposed based on these fresh data[3].

The clearance made alongside the right hand half of the front of the tomb revealed that the façade was approximately 1 metre higher than it had been previously supposed. This fact improves greatly the proportions of the whole structure. The right hand column of the portal, still partly projecting above the surface, was found to have a moulded base of the Attic type, resting on a square plinth. It is cut out of the same rock with the floor of the porch, which is approached from the courtyard by a step. At a distance of 1.30 m. from the column, the lower part of a flat *anta*-pilaster was found. This *anta* has a base of similar moulding as the column. The existing pilaster at the right-hand end of the front has its lower part unfinished and its base, as seen in the drawing, has been restored. Macalister was doubtless right in connecting the two existing fragments of the entablature at both ends of the front into one continuous band.

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[1] Clermont-Ganneau, *loc. cit.* Diringer, *Le iscrizioni antico-ebraiche Palestinesi*, pp. 105 ff., Pl. XIII. One inscription recently discovered by Dr. Reifenberg has not yet been published.

[2] So named apparently by mistaking 'Anab for 'Amad. Local Arabs and the official maps of the Survey of Palestine use Umm el-'Amad.

[3] A somewhat fuller account has been published in Hebrew by the writer in *Kedem* II, pp. 75 ff., where an illustration of the present state of the tomb and a plan with section are given.

Having thus ascertained the main architectural features of the monument, we are now able to restore our façade as a *distyle in antis* with two additional pilasters at its ends, supporting the ornamented entablature throughout the whole length (Fig. 2). This façade is 11.35 m. long and its height, up to the top of the cornice, is 4.37 m. Horizontal levellings in the rock above, may perhaps be due to some kind of masonry superstructure. The only missing links are the capitals of both *antæ* and columns. As for the *antæ*, their capitals may with certainty be restored from the existing

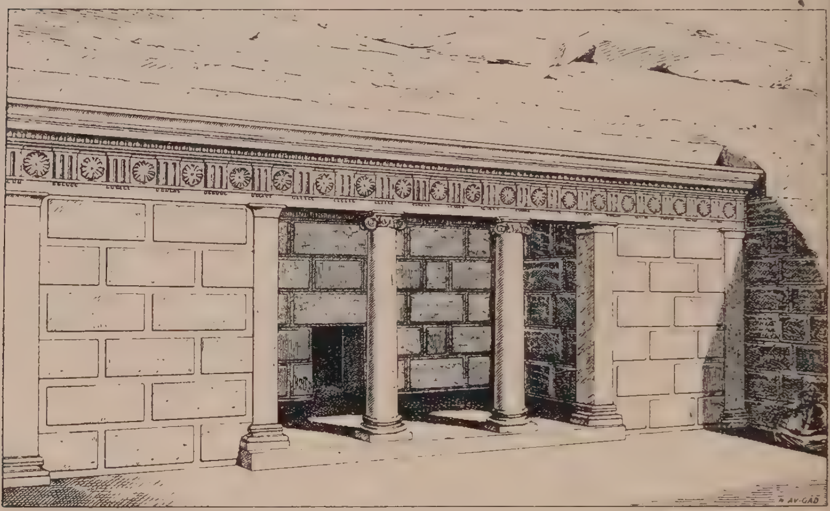

FIG. 2. THE TOMB MUGHARET UMM EL-'AMAD RECONSTRUCTION

capitals of the pilasters. The capitals of the columns, however, must have been of a different shape, as is shown by other tombs of Jerusalem. The Ionic capitals in the reconstructed drawing have been suggested by a very similar tomb as Deir ed-Derb[1]. Ionic capitals supporting a Doric frieze occur in the architecture of the Late-Hellenistic period. The composite treatment of orders at this period is vividly exemplified by the existing fragment of the interesting entablature of our tomb (Fig. 3). The combination of its

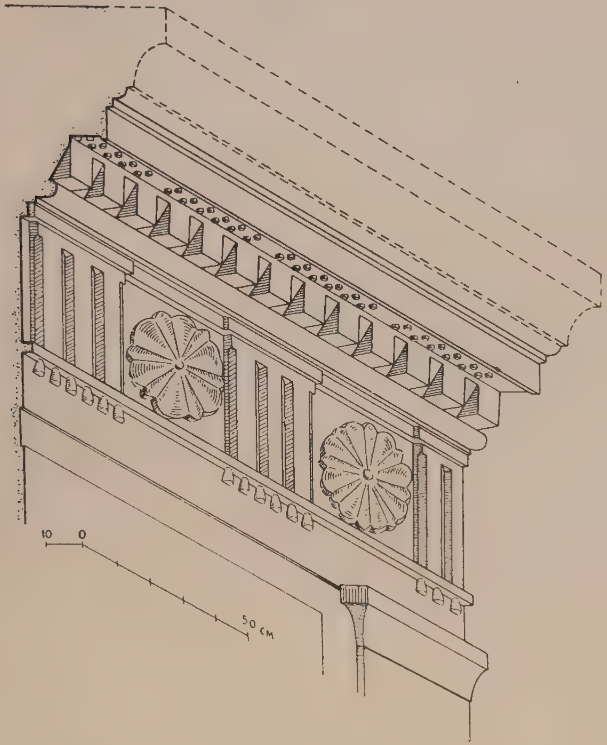

FIG. 3. EXISTING PART OF ENTABLATURE PARTLY RESTORED

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[1] Savignac, *Revue Biblique*, 1910, pp. 123 ff., Fig. 12. See also "Tomb of Absalom," Jerusalem.

Doric frieze with the Ionic dentils is a feature frequently occurring in Hellenistic architecture[1], but it is rather rare to find these dentils together with the Doric *guttæ* underneath the cornice[2]. These *guttæ* occur to our knowledge, in this tomb only, and they have been apparently overlooked before. They are cylindrical in form and are attached directly to the *corona* with no mutules in between. Similarly, the *guttæ* under the triglyphs are attached to the *tenia*, the *regulæ* being omitted. The *guttæ* of the cornice were apparently arranged in groups of twelve (6 x 2) and not of the usual eighteen.

The most significant feature of the tomb is the representation of the drafted masonry carved in the rock, covering the walls of the porch and the façade (Fig. 4). The treatment of this imitated masonry resembles closely the masonry of the Temple enclosure and that the of Phasael tower ("Tower of David") in Jerusalem and the Herodian outer wall of the Haram el-Khalil in Hebron. Both, bosses and margins, are comb-dressed. For this purpose two kinds of adzes were used, one with five teeth to the centimetre, and the other one with seven. It is noteworthy that on most of the courses on the porch-walls the top draft of each "stone" is a little wider than the bottom draft[3]. This peculiarity has also been noticed at the Sanctuary wall in Jerusalem[4] and on the Herodian masonry in Hebron[5]. The bond of the "masonry" in the porch shows alternative binders and stretchers in each course. In the façade, where but a small part of the imitated masonry is actually preserved, the bond seems to have been of different form. The joints between the "stones" were here omitted.

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[1] "Corinthian-Doric" temple at Pæstum, sarcophagus of Scipio Barbatus in Italy, temple of Athena at Pergamum, the terracotta-entablature at Syracuse.

[2] "Corinthian-Doric" temple at Pæstum, theatre of Marcellus in Rome.

[3] Unfortunately, the photograph in Fig. 4 is taken from that part of the "masonry" which does not show this detail.

[4] Warren-Conder, *The Survey of Western Palestine, Jerusalem*, p. 189.

[5] Vincent-Mackay, *Hebron, le Haram el-Khalil*, pp. 46 f., Fig. 37.

It is obvious that the imitated masonry of our tomb is contemporary to its models, the masonry of the Herodian buildings mentioned above. The architecture of the façade, which shows good forms and acquaintance with Late-Hellenistic traditions, points also to the days at the beginning of Herod's reign.

III. A Two-Columned Tomb North of Jerusalem

The third tomb of our series is situated about 160 m. south of the so-called *Tomb of the Judges* and is now in the midst of a newly planted area belonging to the Jerusalem Municipality.

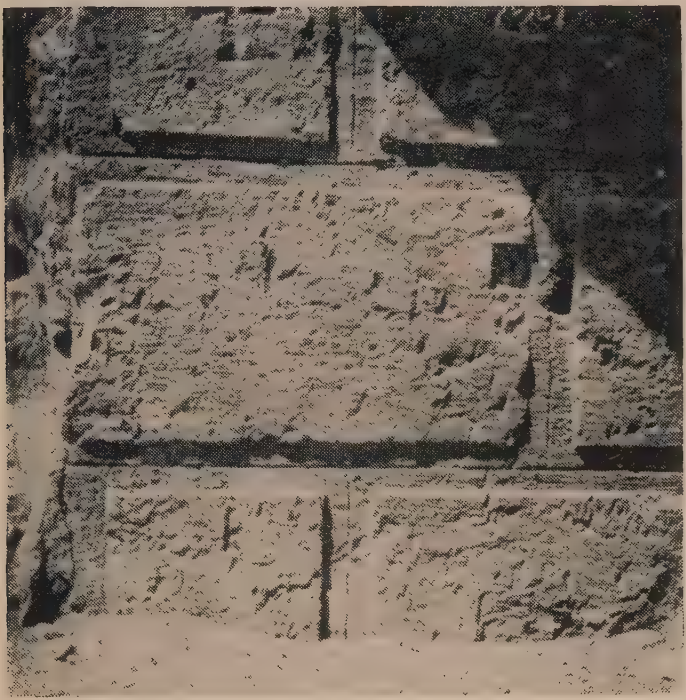

Fig. 4. Imitation in Rock of Drafted Masonry

This tomb, although frequently cited, has never been properly described or illustrated[1]. It was partly due to the fact that the larger part of its front was until recently covered by accumulated earth. Now, owing to a clearance work undertaken by the Municipality authorities, the entire front and a part of the courtyard have been exposed. The façade is in a good state of preservation as illustrated in Fig. 5, except for the right hand column which has been quarried away; only part of its capital has been left.

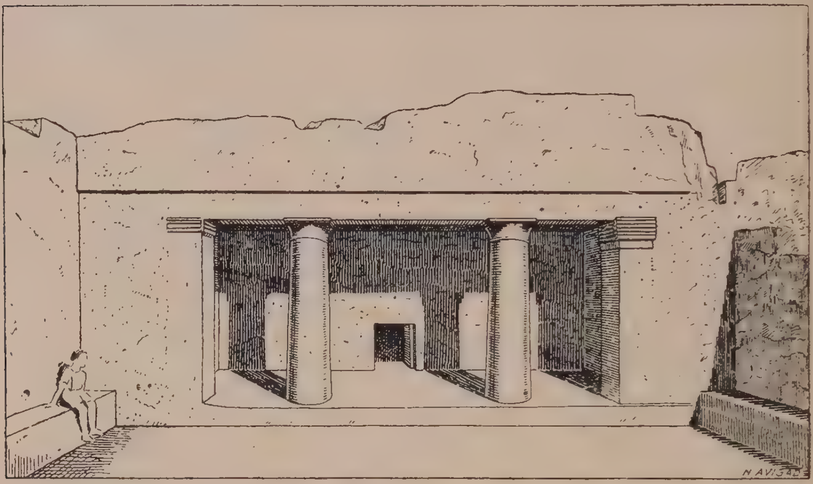

FIG. 5. THE TWO-COLUMNED TOMB; RIGHT HAND COLUMN RESTORED

The porch with its two columns *in antis* is a feature common to many elaborate tombs in the necropolis of Jerusalem. But the façade differs by the absence of a moulded entablature. The columns are supporting but a simple architrave which is marked by a projection of the rock above it. This simplicity of form gives the tomb a character of its own. The length of the front is 9.18 m., the width of the entrance 5.92 m. and its height 2.57 m., which is also the

[1] For brief accounts see: Barton, *Journ. of Bibl. Lit.*, 1903, pp. 172 f. Galling, *ZDPV*, 1936, p. 120.

height of the columns. The central intercolumniation is comparatively much wider than usual: 2.30 m. from column to column as compared with 1.13 m. between column and *anta*. The existing column is of somewhat sturdy proportions; it has no base. Measuring about 70 cm. at its lower diameter, the shaft diminishes on the top to an oval of ca. 55 x 60 cm. This elliptical shape is still more pronounced in the capital which consists of a lower fillet, a cavetto which looks steep in front and more curved when seen from the side, followed by an upper fillet and an abacus 67 x 87 cm. A capital of similar profile occurs on the pilasters of the tomb described in the previous chapter, and is repeated still more closely on another carved façade of the northern necropolis.[1]

The two capitals of the *antæ* differ widely in the quality of their execution. The right hand one is of very simple moulding consisting of six irregular fillets (on the inner jamb five only) on a perpendicular plane divided by grooves, and projecting some 10 cm. beyond the face of the wall. This capital is not supported by a pilaster, but rests only on a narrow projecting band. The space of the would-be pilaster is, however, indicated by fine comb-dressing, such as occurs on the columns, in contrast to the rest of the façade which is but roughly pick-dressed. The second *anta*-capital is misshaped in size, as well as in form. The four very irregular fillets on its front do not correspond with those on its side. The lower band is missing; instead, a deep groove is carved underneath the capital. It appears, that at some later time an attempt was made to quarry the jamb away, as has happened with the missing column. There is more evidence of intended quarrying at this tomb, both ancient and late.

The level of the courtyard is 25 cm. lower than the floor level of the porch. The interesting feature of the courtyard are the benches on both sides, quite an unusual sight in other tombs.

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[1] Galling, "Ein Etagen-Pilaster-Grab im Norden von Jerusalem," *ZDPV*, 1936, p. 111, Fig. 4.

On the whole, the lay-out of this monument is quite attractive, but it shows inferior workmanship in details. As to the date of the tomb, there is no safe criterion for fixing a definite time limit. The simplicity of conception of its façade would hint to an earlier rather than a later date, say the beginning of the first century A.D.

MISTRANSLATIONS

By G. R. Driver

A number of Semitic roots have two opposite and at first sight mutually contradictory meanings (s. Nöldeke NBSS. 67–108). Such are the Heb. יָשַׁב = Arab. *wa aba* " sat down ; sprang up " (s. Roediger *Fab. Locm.*, *Gloss.* 51, Goitein in JPOS. XIV 141 and Driver in JTS. XXXIV 379) and the Arab. *fara ʻa* " ascended (a mountain), descended (a valley) " (Belot) ; the basic sense of the first is that of motion up and/or down, of the second that of motion on a slope whether up or down. In this connection attention may be drawn also to the √*wrd* which refers to ascent as well as descent (s. Bauer in OLz. XLIII 205). Both senses have been noted in the Ugaritic texts : for example *yrd l-ksʼe* " he came down from the seat " and sat on the ground (AB I^{X} vi. 11) and *yrd l-kḥt ʼalʼeyn bʻl*, " he went up to the throne of Aleyn Baal " and ruled over the whole earth (AB III i. 35–36).

The fundamental sense of this verb is, as of others of the same type, that of motion on a slope, up or down, and traces of such a use of it can be found here and there in the Old Testament. Thus in the story of the invasion of Palestine ירדו בני יהודה להלחם בכנעני יושב ההר והנגב והשפלה " and the Judahites went up and down to fight against the Canaanites dwelling in the hill-country and the Negeb and the Shephelah " (Jud. i. 9) ; for the fact that the hill-country rises some 500 ft. above Jerusalem at Hebron before falling away towards the southern steppes and the coastal plain shows that the verb is describing motion up and down hill.

Lastly, the recognition of this usage solves the problem in :

בחוצתיו חגרו שׂק [קָעוּ] על־גגותָיו
וברחבתָיו כלה ייֵליל ירד בבכי

" in its streets they gird themselves with sack-cloth,
" [they cry out] on its roofs,
" and in its broad places everyone howls
" going up and down (them) in tears "

(Is. xv 3; where I add קָעוּ on the assumption of a loss through haplography of a verb corresponding to the LXX's κόπτεσθε, postulating a Heb. *קעה = Syr. *q'â clamavit* for the purpose) ; for ירד בבכי cannot consistently with Hebrew idiom be taken to mean *niedersinkend im Weinen* (König) or " weeping abundantly " (R.V.). Indeed ירד is eminently suitable to going about the streets and lanes of Palestinian villages which normally lie on the tops and sides of the hills (cp. i Sam. ix 27, Ru. iii. 3, 6).

Further, Jephthah's daughter begged her father's leave to retire with her companions to the mountains, saying הלפה ממני שׁנים חדשים ואלכה וירדתי על־ההרים " let me be for two months, that I may depart and go up on to the mountains " (Jud. xi, 37, where LXX's καταβήσομαι confirms the M.T., while Copt. and Eth.'s " I will go up " gives the true sense) ; here the meaning of the verb is indisputable. Again, when Elijah proposes before his translation to leave Elisha in the neighbourhood of Gilgal and to go alone to Bethel, the latter refused וירדו שׁניהם " and the two of them went up " (II Ki. ii. 2), as the verb must be translated ; for Gilgal, now Jiljilîyah, lying to the south-west of Shiloh, is 2,441 ft. and Bethel, now Baitîn, is 2,880 ft. above the sea, and indeed the road is a steady ascent all the way (as the LXX seem to have suspected, since they use the colourless ἦλθον for the expected κατέβησαν to render the Hebrew verb). Here too the sense of the verb is unambiguous.

There is another passage where this same verb has been postulated by ancient scholars or restored by modern commentators, though quite wrongly in my opinion. In the story of the Levite who sojourned in the furthermost parts of the hill-country of Ephraim and who went to fetch back his fugitive concubine from Bethlehem of Judah, the lad with them urged his master on the way home to stop and not continue the journey that night to Gibeah, since they were near Jebus והיוכ רַד מאד "and the day was far spent" (Jud. xix. 11). This rendering, which cannot be won from the text as it stands, rests on the alteration of רד into ירד, on the assumption that the LXX (A)'s *κεκλικυῖα* and LXX(B)'s *προβεβήκει* represent this verb. The alteration, however, is quite unjustifiable; for neither verb is elsewhere used for ירד, this root appears to be applied to the day nowhere else in any Semitic language in which it occurs, and מאד is an unsuitable adverb for use with it. I suggest, therefore, reading והיום רָד מאד and the day was uncertain, stormy," taking רָד as the participle of רוּד "to be restless": for the cognate Acc. *râdu* "to quiver, tremble: to be in commotion" and the Arab. رَادَ, "was restless, troubled" suggest some such meaning. Indeed, this very idiom occurs in a Neo-Babylonian letter from Uruk, the Biblical Erech, of which the writer advises his correspondent not to remove the oxen before a certain date; for *ina*(?) *UD* [*ûmi*](?) *iš* (?)-*tin*(?) *ina KASKAL* [= *ḫarrāni*] *ša*(?) *ra*(?)-*a-du i-maṭ-ṭu-û* "on a single day during the journey which is stormy they will decrease" and suffer injury, whereas, if he waits till after that date, then *UD* [= *ûmu*] *i-pa-áš-šar-ma ûl i-maṭ-ṭu-û* "the day will be clear and they will not decrease" (Contenau *TCL.* IX *88* = Ebeling *NbBU.* *313*, 9–18). In other words, if there is any bad weather during the journey, there will be risk of losing some of the beasts; but after the specific date the weather will be fine when the beasts can be safely moved. The first letter of the verb under discussion in the text is not perfectly clear, but it is confirmed in native syllabaries in which *râdu* as well as *râbu* " to be stormy " and *raḫāsu* " to inundate " are used to explain the same Sumerian ideogram, while *ûmu irûb* " the weather is stormy, windy " occurs frequently in omen-texts (Deimel *SL.* 233/35 l–n, 515/9 d–e, confirmed by Genouillac in *RA* X, 78 ; s. Streck in *Bab.* II 210–211).[1] The Arab. *rîh*^{un} *râ'idat*^{un} " a windy blowing violently to and fro " and *râdat irrîh*^{u} " the wind became in motion " (Lane) further illustrate the use of the same root. The conclusion may then be reached that יום here means " weather " and that רוד means " to be uncertain, stormy, boisterous " when used with it.

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[1] Cf. Thompson, 'Gilgamish,' 63, xi, 128, where *ša-a-ru,* 'wind,' and *ra-a-du,* 'storm,' are alternative renderings.

NOTE ON THE KENYA CONFERENCE

By John Waechter

The Pan African Congress on Prehistory in Nairobi produced little that has a direct bearing on Palestine. It was, of course, primarily concerned with African terminology, but in spite of the local character of its findings, the opportunity delegates had of seeing the East African sites was of immense value. It is the sites, therefore, rather than the Congress discussions which have a direct bearing on the prehistory of Palestine.

The rift valley which runs through the length of Kenya is but a part of a larger rift stretching from Northern Palestine to as far south as Nyasaland. In Kenya it is divided into an Eastern containing a series of lakes of which Nakuru, Naivasha and Elementita are the most important. The Western branch with the lakes Albert, Edward and Tanganyika, has received little attention from archæologists largely because of its inaccessibility ; but the Eastern branch has had a great deal of attention paid it in the last twenty years, particularly by Dr. L. S. B. Leakey. During the course of these twenty years Dr. Leakey has accomplished a considerable amount of work and it is to him that the credit for the archæological and climatological sequences of East Africa is largely due.

The climate cycles worked out by Leakey are based on the rise and fall of the lake levels in the Eastern rift, and not only have these variations been clearly demonstrated, but it has been possible to date these changes of level both archæologically and palæontologically. As a consequence of this work the archæological cultures and industries have been fitted into a climatic framework similar to the glacial and inter-glacial sequences of Europe.

Since the Kenya rift, where these sequences have been worked out, is merely a part of a larger rift, it is not unreasonable to suppose that similar sequences can be worked out in other areas on the same system. It is for this reason the research done in Kenya has such an interest for Palestinian workers.

The work of Miss D. Garrod at Mt. Carmel produced not only an archæological but also a faunal sequence which was worked out by Miss D. M. Bate. The result of the faunal analysis showed clearly that during the period covered by the three Carmel caves, that is from Tayacian to Upper Natufian, there was more than one change of climate. Professor Picard, working in the Jordan Valley from a purely geological aspect, came to the same conclusion and he found that during the Pleistocene and Recent there were at least three periods during which there was a heavier rainfall than at the present day. These results agree substantially with Miss Bate. It is therefore clear that a similar series of climatic changes has taken place in Palestine, and research in the Union of South Africa, Rhodesia, Uganda, Abyssinia and Egypt produced much the same result. It is clear that as there are glacial and inter-glacials in Europe so there are pluvials and inter-pluvials in Africa and the Southern Mediterranean. It is generally supposed that the European glacials gave rise to the African pluvials and these are usually correlated directly ; but as far as Africa is concerned, it is unlikely that pluvial conditions are contemporary over the whole area ; in other words it would be unsafe to correlate the Union of South Africa directly with Egypt, using the areas in between as stepping stones. The climate of Africa is divided at the present time into wet and arid belts, and much the same conditions must have existed in prehistoric times. In spite of this, there is an amazing agreement between the climatic cycles of all regions from Palestine to the Cape and it seems fairly clear that the connection between them is a general one, and although the various pluvials may not be contemporary, they are certainly related. Therefore the dating of geological strata which can be related to the climatic sequences is of the utmost importance. In most of the African territories this dating has been accomplished by the finding of archæological material in lake beaches and river terraces and it should be possible to do the same in Palestine where physical conditions are so similar. The dating of Picard's terraces will greatly substantiate the faunal work of Miss Bate, where climatic changes are related directly to the archæological sequences, and will facilitate the archæological work in the Middle East as a whole.

NOTE ON IV EZRA

By C. N. Bromehead

Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament.—Charles, R. H., Oxford, 1913, Vol. ii, p. 565. iv Ezra, chap. iv, v. 13–19.

"Once upon a time the woods of the trees of the field went forth, and took counsel, and said : 'Come, let us go and make war upon the sea, that it may retire before us and we will make us more woods.' In like manner also the waves of the sea took counsel, and said : 'Come, let us go up and wage war against the wood of the field, that there also we may win us more territory.' The counsel of the wood was in vain, for the fire came and consumed it ; likewise also the counsel of the waves of the sea, for the sand stood up and stopped them. If thou, now, hadst been judge between them whom wouldst thou have justified or whom condemned ? I answered and said : 'Both have taken a foolish counsel ; for to the wood the land has been assigned, and to the sea a place to bear its waves.'"

Charles's footnote.—The idea of the sea being held in check and kept within prescribed bounds by the divine power is an ancient one, and forms the motive of some early Creation myths (cf. Job vii, 12 ; xxxviii, 8f.). The application of the idea to the wood seems to be original to the apocalyptist (so Gunkel).

Probable date, according to Charles : 100 A.D.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Official Rainfall Map of Palestine.—The Government Meteorologist of Palestine has kindly sent the Fund a copy of the new official Rainfall Map of the country. This map does not cover quite the same area as Dr. Ashbel's which was issued by the Hebrew University Press and was reviewed in this Quarterly in July, 1941. The new map is on the scale of 1 : 500,000, that is, 5 kilometres to 1 centimetre, or about 8 miles to one inch. It covers the area from the Gulf of Aqaba in the south to a few kilometres north of Lake Hule, and from the Mediterranean to some 40 kilometres east of Amman. The isohyets are at intervals of 100 millimetres, or nearly 4 inches.

As might be expected, there are a few differences between the maps but nothing of significance. The new map has somewhat more detail as regards the distribution of Annual Rainfall, but there is a general similarity. Thus, on the new map Hebron comes in between the 500 and the 600 mm. lines ; on Dr. Ashbel's map it is close to the 600 line. On the new map there is a 50 mm. line 40 kilometres or so to the south of the Dead Sea, whereas on the older map this line crossed the Dead Sea about its centre. And so on. But in studying any map of the annual rainfall of Palestine we must remember that the rainfall over this country varies greatly from year to year, and an annual rainfall map is only a rough guide so far as any one year is concerned.

There is a remark in the legend of the new map which puzzled the writer of this note until he consulted a distinguished meteorologist. The note is to the effect that " The Means used . . . are reduced to the international period 1901–1930." But it goes on to say that, for certain areas, data are used up to 1945 and "data up to 1938 are used for the rest of the map." It appears that for stations that have been in existence for a long period the compiler has used 1901–30 as the standard period, as agreed upon internationally. But this would give only a thin network of stations, and to amplify this he has used others, having first worked out the ratio of the rainfall at each station to the rainfall at stations that have been in existence both during the international period and during the later years. From this ratio the rainfall at the newer stations has been calculated, an indirect but legitimate method.

We may accept this new map as giving us the best information about the annual rainfall of Palestine that is available at the present time and we thank the Government Meteorologist for his courtesy in presenting a copy to the Fund.—C.F.A.-C.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks the following:

Antiquaries Journal July–October, 1946.
Bible Lands, January, April, July, 1947.
Expository Times, March to September, 1947.
Religions, April and July, 1947.
Scottish Geographical Magazine, April and September, 1947.
Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, LXXVI, 3 and 4.
Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine, Vol. XIII, Nos. 1 and 2.
ΝΕΑ ΣΙΩΝ, 1947, *ΤΟΜΟΣ*, ΜΒ.
Journal of Egyptian Archæology, Vol. 32, 1946.
Journal of Near Eastern Studies, Vol. VI, Nos. 1–3.
Journal of the American Oriental Society, January to March, 1947.
Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Vol. XXIV, 1944–45.

Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Nos. 103 to 106.

The Biblical Archæologist, February and May, 1947.

American Journal of Archæology, July–September, 1946.

Harvard Theological Review, January, April and July, 1947.

American Journal of Philology, October, 1946, January, April, 1947.

Geographical Review of the American Geographical Societys, October, 1946.

Jewish Quarterly Review July, 1947.

Revue Biblique 1947, April.

Biblica. 1947, Facs. 1–2, 3.

Journal Asiatique, 1943–45, Tables Générales, 1933†42.

Nouvelle Revue Théologique, No. 7, 1946, Nos 1–7, 1947.

Archiv. für Orientforschung. Band XIII and XIV.

Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society, 1947, Nos. 1†2, 3†4.

Transactions of the Royal Canadian Institute, October, 1946.

Proceedings of the Royal Canadian Institute, Session, 1945–46.

Journal of Transactions of the Victoria Institute, 1945, Vol. LXXVII.

Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, 1944–1945.

Bulletin of the Royal Ontario Museum Nos. 13, 14 and 15.

A Guide to the Cyprus Museum. By P. Dikaios, F.S.A.

Geology and Water Resources of Palestine. By G. S. Blake and M. J. Goldschmidt, with maps and diagrams.

Excavations at Tell en-Nasbeh, by William F. Bade. Vol. I. Archæological and Historical Results. By C. C. McCown. Vol. II, The Pottery. By J. C. Wampler.

Paul Pelliot. Par M. Georges Salles. Public par la Société Asiatique.

Palastinas und der bandkeramische Kulturkreis, Vor Dr. A. Jirkü.

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

ANNUAL REPORT
AND ACCOUNTS
WITH
LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS

FOR THE YEAR 1947

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND
2 HINDE STREET, MANCHESTER SQUARE, LONDON, W.1

THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

SOCIETY FOR THE ACCURATE AND SYSTEMATIC INVESTIGATION OF THE ARCHAEOLOGY, THE TOPOGRAPHY, THE GEOLOGY AND PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY, THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE HOLY LAND, FOR BIBLICAL ILLUSTRATION.

Founded 1865.

Patron—HIS MAJESTY THE KING.
President—His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury.
Vice-President—His Grace the Archbishop of York.

The Society was established on the basis of the following rules:—

1. It was not to be a religious society. That is to say, it should be pledged not to advocate or attack any form of creed or doctrine.
2. It was not to adopt or to defend any side in controversial matters.
3. It was to be conducted on strictly scientific principles.

These rules have been jealously observed. The Society's organ, the Palestine Exploration Quarterly, is open to all opinions, while it records as facts only the actual discoveries and results of its exploring officers. Although the Society is not a religious society, strictly so called, its work necessarily possesses unusual interest for Bible Students of all denominations, who find in the results obtained by exploration much that confirms and illustrates the historical truth of both the Old and New Testaments. In the course of its existence, the Society, with limited funds at its disposal, has done an immense amount of work, and published the results in books, papers, maps, plans and photographs, primarily for the benefit of its subscribers, and for the advantage of students of the Sacred Scriptures.

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Hon. Treasurer—A. M. Hyamson, Esq., O.B.E.
Hon. Secretary—Rev. C. B. Mortlock, M.A., F.S.A.

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Miss Estelle Blyth.
Prof. Stanley A. Cook, Litt.D.,F.B.A.
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Prof. S. H. Hooke, M.A., B.D. (*Editor*).
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Prof. D. Winton Thomas, D.D.
Miss Olga Tufnell.

Assistant Secretary—G. H. J. Ovenden.
Office—2 Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1.
Bankers—Messrs. Coutts and Co., 16 Cavendish Square, London, W.1.
Auditors—Messrs. Turquand, Youngs, McAuliffe and Co., *Chartered Accountants*, 19 Coleman Street, London, E.C.2.

The privileges of Subscribers are as follows:—Annual Subscribers of *One Guinea* (£1 : 1 : 0), or more, will receive the Palestine Exploration Quarterly, and can purchase other publications of the Fund and of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem at reduced prices. Annual Subscribers of not less than *Two Guineas* (£2 : 2 : 0) to either the Palestine Exploration Fund, or the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, or of One Guinea to each, will receive the Quarterly and the Memoirs and Annuals of both institutions as published, gratis.

Subscriptions and Income Tax. Subscribers who covenant to pay their subscriptions regularly for a period of seven years to cease at death, enable the Fund to benefit by the recovery of Income Tax thereon at no cost to themselves. A suitable form of Covenant can, if desired, be obtained by application to the Secretary.

Subscribers in the United States of America may remit to the National City Bank, 55 Wall Street, New York, with instruction to credit Messrs. Coutts & Co., or Palestine Exploration Fund.

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1947

For the last ten years, the war and the present disturbed conditions in Palestine have interrupted the work which the Palestine Exploration Fund has carried out since it was founded more than eighty years ago. No one can say when active work in Palestine can be resumed. But the need for the Fund remains. Research on past finds is in progress, chance finds are still being made which throw light on the history and culture of the country, all of which should be brought to the notice of members of the Fund. The official British connection with Palestine is ending, and it becomes the more necessary that the cultural connection should be maintained, which the Fund can do as it did in the days of Turkish rule.

Moreover thousands of our fellow countrymen have recently been or still are serving in Palestine, and there are more people in England at the present moment who know the land and are interested in its history than at any time since the Fund was founded. It is hoped that many of them will avail themselves of the opportunities of keeping in touch with Palestine which are offered by the library and publications of the Fund. Lectures on new discoveries and problems have been a feature of our work in the past and there is every intention of expanding them in the future.

Sweeping changes have been made in the arrangement of the offices on the ground floor of No. 2 Hinde Street. They are the result of an agreement entered into with the Royal Central Asian Society to share accommodation and staff for the next three years at least, possibly for much longer.

The agreement will not come into full effect before next April but the Committee has been obliged already to make the necessary arrangements to accommodate an increased clerical staff and a second library containing as many volumes as the Fund's own library, and this has involved radical changes.

The principal change affects the largest of the four rooms on the Ground Floor which has been occupied for some time by a collection of Palestinian antiquities coming for the most part from excavations undertaken by the Fund. The collection includes some bronzes, a fairly good series of Palestinian pots, series of lamps and coins, and a case with the Samaria ivories which fell to the share of the Fund, but it has not attracted many visitors and we have long felt that in its present position it was not being put to full use. It was decided accordingly to offer it on loan to the Institute of Archaeology of the University of London. The Institute already possesses the large collection of Palestinian antiquities made by Sir Flinders Petrie and a lectureship in Palestinian Archaeology has recently been established there, Miss Kenyon, a member of our Committee, being the first holder of it. The Institute therefore is, or will shortly become, the chief centre of Palestinian studies in this country and our own collection could not consequently be better placed.

The room thus vacated has been arranged as a reading room with some comfortable chairs and a large table for use at Committee meetings: the walls on one side contain the overflow of the Fund's books from the room below and on the others part of the library of the R.C.A.S. The remainder of the Society's books are in shelves on either side of the lecture room.

Finally, to house the enlarged staff the little office in which our Assistant Secretary has worked for so long has been extended so that it now occupies half the old library and Committee room.

For his help in planning and supervising these changes the Fund is deeply indebted to Colonel Newcombe who has long been connected with both societies.

The rearrangement of the library which has thus become necessary is being carried out with the help of Miss du Plat Taylor who is Librarian of the Institute of Archaeology, and the binding of periodicals which has fallen badly into arrears is being pressed forward as quickly as the difficult conditions in the binding trade permit. The Committee is most grateful to Miss Taylor for her help.

Five lectures were given in the course of the year, two of them by residents in Palestine who happened to be visiting England. On February 19, Professor G. R. Driver lectured on *New Aramaic Documents of the time of Darius I*, on April 9, Dr. L. A. Mayer of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem lectured on *Arab Sculpture*, on July 9, at the Annual Meeting our Editor, Professor S. H. Hooke, lectured on *The Mari excavations and the Old Testament*, on October 22, Professor H. H. Rowley lectured on *The Chronological Problems of the Exodus and Settlement*, and on November 5, Mr. C. N. Johns of the Department of Antiquities in Jerusalem lectured on *Recent Discoveries in Palestine*.

The Committee desire to express their thanks for the following contributions to the pages of the *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*: "Architectural Observations on some Rock-cut Tombs", by N. Avigad; "A Note on Ezra IV", by C. N. Bromehead; "Mistranslations", by G. R. Driver; "The Beginnings of Phoenician Epigraphy According to a Letter written by Wilhelm Gesenius in 1835", by Otto Eissfeldt; "Hebrew Notes", by A. Guillaume; "Hasma", by Sir A. S. Kirkbride and Lankester Harding; "Moriah-Ariel II", by Samuel Krauss; "Two Connected Problems relating to the Israelite Settlement in Transjordan", by J. Simons; "A Note on the Kenya Conference", by J. Waechter.

The statement of accounts shows an improvement financially on the position a year earlier, but this is principally due to a relatively large figure under the head "sale of publications". This figure is necessarily exceptional and its repetition cannot be expected. More serious is the continuous fall in the number of members of the Fund, which now amounts to about only 300. Almost half of them consist of libraries and similar institutions. Of individual members there are about 150 from all parts of the world. As very few recruits come in, this figure diminishes every year. On the other side of the account, apart from salaries to which a new item, pension consequent on the impending retirement of the Assistant Secretary after 45 years sterling service, will be added, the main expenditure is on account of the Quarterly which for some years now has appeared only half yearly. The cost of this periodical is continually rising and during the past year has been at the rate of about 27/6 a member, whose normal contribution is one guinea.

Signed on behalf of the | J. W. Crowfoot, *Chairman.*
Executive Committee, | C. B. Mortlock, *Hon. Secretary.*

March, 1948.

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND, 1947

BALANCE SHEET, 31ST DECEMBER, 1947

LIABILITIES

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
CAPITAL:—		
Authorized—200 Shares of £1 each	200 0 0	
Issued—10 Shares of £1 each, not called		—
SUNDRY CREDITORS for Current Expenses		215 1 3
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF PALESTINE		31 6 8
SURPLUS OF ASSETS OVER LIABILITIES—		
(Excluding donated property) as per last Balance Sheet ...	3,476 14 6	
Add: Excess of Income over Expenditure for year	67 10 0	
		3,544 4 6
		£3,790 12 5

ASSETS

	£ s. d.
FREEHOLD PROPERTY—DONATED—No. 2 Hinde Street (estimated value £5,000) ...	—
ALTERATIONS AND IMPROVEMENTS No. 2 Hinde Street, as per last Balance Sheet ...	1,188 17 5
MUSEUM, LIBRARY AND STORE-ROOM: FIXTURES, FITTINGS, FURNITURE, etc., as per last Balance Sheet	382 2 7
JEWISH COLONIAL TRUST—DONATED—50 Ordinary Shares of £1 each, fully paid ...	—
STOCK OF PUBLICATIONS, MAPS, BOOKS, MODELS, LANTERN SLIDES, LIBRARY, ANTIQUES, etc.	—
SUNDRY DEBTORS	2 18 3
SUBSCRIPTIONS IN ARREAR	44 2 0
£1,000 3-per cent. Defence Bonds	1,000 0 0
£50 3-per cent. Savings Bonds, 1955-65 P.O. Issue	50 0 0
CASH AT BANK AND IN HAND*	622 12 2
CASH AT P.O. SAVINGS BANK	500 0 0
	£3,790 12 5

* *Note.* Includes £25 donated in 1939, and not yet expended, for the purchase of Committee Table in memory of the late H. Coote Lake, Esq.

J. W. CROWFOOT, *Chairman.*
KATHLEEN M. KENYON, *Hon. Treasurer.*

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT
FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st DECEMBER, 1947

RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Balance 31st December, 1946				964	16	3
,, Subscriptions and Donations, including Local Societies ...				431	3	2
,, Refund of Income Tax on Covenanted Subscriptions				63	12	4
,, Sale of Publications				227	11	2
,, Rent				495	9	6
,, Dividend on £1,000—3 per cent. Defence Bonds	30	0	0			
,, Dividend on £50—3 per cent. Savings Bonds	1	10	0			
				31	10	0
				£2,214	2	5

	£	s.	d.
Receipts for year, as shown above	1,249	6	2
Less: Arrears of last year's subscriptions, etc., received during 1947	106	7	1
	1,142	19	1
Add: Arrears and Debtors at 31st December, 1947, as shown by Balance Sheet ...	47	0	3
	£1,189	19	4

PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By Printing, including Quarterly, Annual Report, Postages and Despatch... ...				314	19	0
,, Editor's fee				100	0	0
,, Samaria-Sebaste III				21	0	0
,, Purchase of books and bookbinding				26	15	4
,, Repairs				31	17	11
,, Salaries and Wages (including National Insurance)				486	15	10
,, Postages and Telephone				34	6	6
,, Insurance				7	12	0
,, Water Rate, etc.				17	9	11
,, Lighting and Heating				26	13	2
,, Stationery and Sundries				6	6	1
,, Lectures and Lantern Slides				10	17	6
,, Cheque books					8	0
,, Legal charges				6	9	0
				£1,091	10	3
Balance at 31st December, 1947:						
At Bank and in hand	622	12	2			
,, P.O. Savings Bank	500	0	0			
				1,122	12	2
				£2,214	2	5

	£	s.	d.
Payments for year, as shown above	1,091	10	3
Less: Creditors at 31st December, 1946, paid during 1947	184	2	2
	907	8	1
Add: Creditors at 31st December, 1947, as shown by Balance Sheet ...	215	1	3
	1,122	9	4
Excess of Income over Expenditure	67	10	0
	£1,189	19	4

AUDITOR'S REPORT TO THE MEMBERS OF THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

We report that we have obtained all the information and explanations we have required as Auditors. We have examined and compared the above Balance Sheet and the Receipts and Payments Account with the books and vouchers of the Fund, and, in our opinion, they are properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the affairs of the Fund, according to the best of our information and the explanations given to us and as shown by the books of the Fund.

19 COLEMAN STREET,
LONDON, E.C.2.
20*th May*, 1948

TURQUAND, YOUNGS, MCAULIFFE & Co.
Chartered Accountants.

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS

RECEIVED BETWEEN 1ST JANUARY AND 31ST DECEMBER, 1947, INCLUSIVE

* Asterisks denote covenanted subscriptions

If any omission or mistake be observed in the following lists, the Secretary will be very glad to be informed of it, and will rectify the error in the next Annual Report.

	£	s.	d.
*Alford, Miss M.	1	18	2
*Arden-Close, Sir Charles	2	2	0
Ashmole, Prof. B.	1	1	0
*Barham, S. P., Esq.	1	1	0
*Barnett, Mrs. H. A. Lake	2	2	0
*Barnett, R. D., Esq.	1	1	0
Barron, Mrs.	1	1	0
Bate, Miss D. M.	1	1	0
Bayley, Arthur R., Esq.	2	2	0
Becke, Major A. F.	1	1	0
Belmore, The Earl of	1	1	0
*Bentwich, Prof. N.	1	1	0
*Berlin, M., Esq.	1	1	0
Bilton, F., Esq.	1	1	0
*Birnbaum, Dr. S.	1	1	0
Blair, Dr. D. P.	1	1	0
Blyth, Miss Estelle	1	1	0
*Boulton, W. H., Esq.	1	1	0
Bramwell, W., Esq.	1	1	0
Brown, Rev. D. A.	1	1	0
Brown, James, Esq.	2	2	0
*Bushell, W. F., Esq.	1	1	0
Buxton, Dr. P. A.	1	1	0
*Caiger, Rev. S.	1	1	0
*Carter, John, Esq.	2	2	0
Cerny, Rev. E. A.	1	1	0
Coleman, Rev. Canon N. C.	1	1	0
Collets Holdings, Ltd. (4 U.S.S.R. subs.)	4	4	0
Colt, H. Dunscombe, Esq.	1	1	0
Commissariat of the Holy Land	1	1	0
Coullie, Lt.-Col. A. G.	1	1	0
Crawford, L., Esq.	1	1	0
Crawford, O. G. S., Esq.	1	1	0
*Crowfoot, J. W., Esq.	1	1	0
*Curwen, B. H., Esq.	1	18	2
Curwen, Dr. E. Cecil	1	1	0
Curwen, Dr. Eliot	2	2	0
*Daiches, Dr. S.	1	1	0
*Davies, Miss A. M.	1	1	0
Dirk, Pons & Co., Messrs.	1	1	0
Dowse, Mrs.	3	3	0
*Driver, Prof. G. R.	2	2	0
Du Boulay, Brig.-Gen. W. H.	1	1	0
Dugmore, Rev. C. W.	2	2	0
Dulau, Rev. P.	1	1	0
Evans, E. M. P., Esq.	1	1	0
Falconer, Harold, Esq.	1	1	0
Farquharson, Miss M. Milne	1	1	0
Field, Dr. Henry	1	1	0
*FitzGerald, G. M., Esq.	2	2	0
Fothergill, Dr. C.	1	1	0
*Frank, Miss Helena	2	0	0
Fraser, C. J., Esq.	4	4	0
Freshfield, the Misses	1	1	0
Fuller, Rev. R. C.	1	1	0
*Gailitis, Miss L.	1	1	0
Gamble, Rev. B. H. R.	1	1	0
Gamble, Rev. H. J.	1	1	0
*Gardiner, Dr. A. H.	2	2	0
*Garner, Rev. H.	1	1	0
*Garstang, Prof. J.	2	2	0
Gibson, Mrs.	2	2	0
Carried forward	£88	15	4

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	88	15	4
*Glancy, L. M., Esq.	1	1	0
Goadby, Dr. F. M.	1	1	0
Gold, Mrs.	1	1	0
Gomma, Prof. Muhammad	1	1	0
Guillaume, Prof. A.	1	1	0
Gurney, Oliver, Esq.	1	1	0
Hammond, Col. F. S.	3	13	6
Hankey, Mrs. M. W.	1	1	0
Harford, Mrs.	1	1	0
*Haycraft, Lady	1	1	0
Hertz (from Estate of the late Rev. Dr. J. H.)	1	1	0
*Hindley, Miss R. C.	1	1	0
*Hippisley, Miss E.	1	1	0
*Hollis, Rev. Dr. F. J.	1	1	0
*Hooke, Prof. S. H.	1	1	0
Horn, Dr. Paul	2	2	0
Horn, S., Esq.	2	2	0
Hutchinson, Rev. J D.	1	1	3
*Hyamson, A. M., Esq.	1	1	0
Isserlin, B. S. J., Esq.	1	1	0
Johnson, Mrs.	2	2	0
*Johnson, Rev. Lewis	1	1	0
Kenyon, Sir Frederic	1	1	0
*Kenyon, Miss K. M.	1	1	0
Kiewe, H. E., Esq.	1	1	0
Kirk, Major G. E.	1	1	0
Kirkness, W. E., Esq.	2	2	0
Kleinmann, S. M., Esq.	1	1	0
Laird, Rev. O. E.	1	3	9
*La Page, John, Esq.	1	1	0
Lee of Fareham, the late Viscount	1	1	0
Levin, Abraham, Esq.	1	1	0
Libraries—			
Aberdeen University	1	1	0
Adelaide Public Library	2	2	0
Alleyns School	1	11	6
Alma College	1	1	0
American University, Beirut	1	1	0
Ankara, British Institute of Archaeology	1	1	0
Armagh Library	1	1	0
Ashland College	1	1	0
Ashmolean Museum	1	1	0
Australian Institute of Archaeology	6	6	0
Berkeley Baptist Divinity School	1	1	0
Birmingham Public Libraries	1	1	0
Birmingham University	1	1	0
Boston Public Library	1	1	0
Bristol Libraries	1	1	0
British Columbia, Union College of	1	1	0
Brown University	2	2	0
Butler University	1	1	0
California University	1	1	0
Cambridge University Museum	5	0	0
Carnegie Library, Pittsburg	1	1	0
Carried forward	£163	4	4

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	163	4	4
Columbia University	1	1	0
Congregational Library, Boston	2	2	0
Conjoncture et des Etudes Economiques	1	1	0
Copenhagen Royal Library	4	4	0
Dallas Theol. Seminary	1	1	0
Davidson College	2	2	0
Detroit Public Library	1	1	0
Durham University	2	2	0
Eastern Baptist Theol. Seminary	1	1	0
Edinburgh Free Ch. Coll.	1	1	0
Edinburgh University	4	4	0
Emmanuel Missionary College	1	1	0
Hague Royal Library	6	16	6
Haifa Youth Centre	1	1	0
Harvard College	1	1	0
Haverford College	1	1	0
Hebrew Gymnasium, Tel Aviv	1	1	0
Hebrew Union College	3	3	0
Heythrop College	0	10	6
Illinois University	1	1	0
Indiana University	1	1	0
Institut de France	2	2	0
Jewish Institute of Religion	2	1	0
Jewish Studies, College of	1	0	2
Jewish Theol. Seminary	1	1	0
Jews College	0	10	6
John Rylands Library	1	1	0
Leeds Library	1	1	0
Leeds University	2	2	0
Los Angeles Public Library	1	1	0
Louvain College, Philos. and Theol.	1	1	0
McMaster University	1	1	0
Mansfield College, Oxford	2	2	0
Mary Baldwin College	1	1	0
Metropolitan Museum of Art	1	1	0
Mitchell Library, Glasgow	1	1	0
Montreal Divinity Coll.	1	1	0
Moody Bible Institute	3	3	0
Mount Hoylake Coll.	2	2	0
Nashota House Library	3	2	2
Nebraska, University of	4	3	1
Neuchatel University	6	5	0
New College, London	1	1	0
New York Public Library	1	1	0
Newberry Library, Chicago	2	2	0
Newton Theological Institution	3	1	6
N. Baptist Theol. Seminary	1	1	0
N. Wales, University College	2	2	0
Carried forward	£251	12	9

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	251	12	9
North-Western University	1	1	0
Ottawa Parliament Library	1	1	0
Paris, Bibliotheque, Nationale	2	2	0
Pazmany University	1	1	0
Peabody Institute	1	1	0
Peiping National Library	3	3	0
Pittsburg-Xenia Theol. Seminary	3	3	0
Princeton University	3	3	0
Queen's University, Kingston, Ont.	1	1	0
Royal Asiatic Society	1	1	0
St. Andrews Coll., Newtown, N.S.W.	1	1	0
St. Augustine's College, Canterbury	1	1	0
St. Deniol's Library	1	10	0
St. Louis Public Library	1	1	0
St. Mary's College, Kansas	1	1	0
St. Patrick's College, Maynooth	0	10	6
Selly Oak Colleges	2	2	0
Seventh-Day Adventists Theol. Seminary	1	1	0
Sheffield University	1	1	0
Smith College	1	1	0
Sorbonne University	2	2	0
So. African Public Library	1	1	0
So. Baptist Theol. Seminary	1	1	0
Spence Library	1	1	0
Strassbourg University	2	2	0
Sydney Public Library	1	1	0
Toronto, Victoria University	1	1	0
Union Theological Seminary	1	1	0
Vanderbilt University	1	1	0
Victoria Institute, The	1	1	0
Walla Walla College	1	1	0
Wellesley College	1	1	0
Wells College, Aurora	3	1	5
West Baden College	1	0	0
Western Theol. Seminary	2	2	0
Weston College	1	1	0
Dr. Williams Library	2	2	0
Winnipeg Theological College	1	1	0
Wisconsin University	1	1	0
Yale University	1	1	0
Zion Research Library	1	1	0
*London, S., Esq.	1	1	0
Macalister, Dr. R. A. S.	1	1	0
McClellan, Rev. W. H.	2	9	8
McLean, Dr. C. F.	1	1	0
Carried forward	£314	16	4

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	314	16	4
*Martin, Henry, Esq.	1	1	0
Matthew, H. M., Esq.	1	1	0
Mitchell, F. E., Esq.	2	2	0
Mitchell, Mrs. J. M.	4	4	0
Mongredein, Rev. H.	1	1	0
Morrell, C., Esq.	0	10	6
*Morris, Rev. W. R.	1	1	0
*Mortlock, Rev. C. B.	1	1	0
Moysey, C. F., Esq.	1	1	0
Nathan of Churt, Lord	1	1	0
*Newcombe, Col. S. F.	1	1	0
*Newman, E. W., Esq.	1	1	0
*Noel, Mrs. Ernest	1	1	0
Norris, Dr. C. T.	1	1	0
Norwich, the Dean of	1	1	0
*Oesterley, Rev. Dr. W. O. E.	2	2	0
*Parfit, Rev. Canon J. T.	1	1	0
Parkminster, Rev. Prior of	1	1	0
Parrott, Dr. H. Winnock	1	1	0
*Parkes, Rev. Dr. J. W.	1	1	0
Patier, A., Esq.	1	1	0
Peake, Col. F. G.	1	1	0
Pirie-Gordon, H., Esq.	2	2	0
Plumley, Rev. J. Martin	2	2	0
Probsthain, Messrs. A.	1	1	0
Rabinowicz, Dr. Oskar	2	2	0
Richards, Miss K. D.	3	3	0
Richmond-Brown, R., Esq.	1	1	0
*Robertson, Prof. E.	1	1	0
*Roth, Dr. Cecil	1	1	0
*Rowley, Rev. H. H.	1	1	0
*Salaman, Dr. R. N.	1	1	0
*Salmon, Col. F. J.	1	1	0
Sarna, N., Esq.	2	2	0
*Schubeler, Mrs.	1	1	0
Skeat, Walter, Esq.	1	1	0
*Shepstone, H. J., Esq.	1	1	0
Simons, Rev. Dr. J.	6	6	0
Slinkard, C. St. Elmo, Esq.	2	8	7
Smith, Bishop M. Linton	1	1	0
Smith, W. H. & Son	1	0	10
Smothers, Rev. Fr. E.	0	10	5
*Staplyton, Alan, Esq.	1	1	0
Stationery Office, H.M.	2	2	0
Stewart, James, R., Esq.	1	1	0
Tervit, Adam, Esq.	1	1	0
*Thomas, Prof. D. Winton	1	1	0
*Thornton-Duesbury, Rev. J. P.	2	2	0
Tortajada, Senor A.	2	2	0
*Truro, The Bishop of	2	2	0
*Tufnell, Miss O.	1	1	0
Waechter, John, Esq.	1	1	0
*Walsh, A. St. G., Esq.	1	1	0
Warde-Aldam, Col. W. St. A.	1	1	0
Weiss, Rev. P. F. D.	1	1	0
Were, Miss	0	5	0
*Weston, Rev. F. G.	1	1	0
White, W. E., Esq.	1	1	0
Carried forward	£396	4	8

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	396	4	8
*Wilson, Dr. T. Stacey	1	1	0
*Winterbotham, A., Esq.	1	1	0
Wiseman, D. J., Esq.	1	1	0
*Wylie, R. W., Esq.	1	1	0
	£400	8	8

EDINBURGH

Hon. Local Sec.
Prof. N. Porteous

	£	s.	d.
Edinburgh Public Library	1	1	0
Kennedy, Prof. A. C.	0	10	6
New College Library	2	2	0
*Porteous, Prof. N.	1	1	0
	£4	14	6

GLASGOW

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Rev. John Mauchline
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W. Patrick Mitchell, Esq.

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Blair, Archibald, Esq.	1	1	0
Forrester, Rev. Dr. D.	1	1	0
Maclay, Lord	1	1	0
Mauchline, Prof. J.	1	1	0
Mitchell, Sir George	1	1	0
Mitchell, W. Patrick, Esq.	1	1	0
Pettigrew, Miss	1	1	0
*Stevenson, Rev. Prof. W. B.	1	1	0
Trinity College	1	1	0
Weir, Rev. Prof. C. J.	1	1	0
	£10	10	0

PALESTINE

Hon. Local Sec.
C. N. Johns, Esq.

	£	s.	d.
Harding, G. Lankester, Esq.	2	2	0
Hulbert, Miss E.	1	1	0
Jerusalem, Right Rev. the Bishop in	1	1	0
Jewish Antiquities, Museum of	1	1	0
Mayer, Prof. L. A.	1	1	0
Pontifical Biblical Institute	1	1	0
Reifenberg, Dr. A.	1	1	0
Sonnen, Rev. Fr.	1	1	0
Ubach, Rev. Bonaventure	1	1	0
O'Connor, J. A. Esq.	5	0	0
	15	10	0

SUMMARY OF SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS

	£	s.	d.
General List	400	8	8
Edinburgh	4	14	6
Glasgow	10	10	0
Palestine	15	10	0
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